

*Books of the Month*

# THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Fourth Year of Issue

January, 1945

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## National Unity

EDITORIAL



## The Chicago Air Conference

S. G. CAMERON



## Fighter's Return—To What?

FERGUS GLENN



Canada's Cost-of-Living Index

WILLIAM MERCER

Germany and the Future

DOROTHY FRASER

Vol. XXIV, No. 288

Toronto, Ontario, January, 1945

Twenty-five Cents

## CONTENTS OF THIS ISSUE

O CANADA .....	222
EDITORIALS .....	223
NATIONAL UNITY .....	225
THE CHICAGO AIR CONFERENCE <i>S. G. Cameron</i> .....	227
GERMANY AND THE FUTURE— <i>Dorothy Fraser</i> ..	229
GIFT— <i>Charles Frederick Boyle</i> .....	230
CANADA'S COST-OF-LIVING INDEX <i>William Mercer</i> .....	231
WHEN YOU RETURN— <i>Ann Bernard</i> .....	232
FIGHTER'S RETURN—TO WHAT?— <i>Fergus Glenn</i>	233
FILM REVIEW— <i>D. Mosdell</i> .....	234
CORRESPONDENCE .....	235
TO ONE DEPARTING— <i>Carol Ely Harper</i> .....	236

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

JAMES SHAVER WOODSWORTH .....	C.M. 237
EDWARD BELLAMY .....	Sylvia L. Thrupp 237
ARGENTINE RIDDLE .....	Josephine Hambleton 237
SIXTY BELOW .....	D. M. LeBourdais 238
HOUSES FOR TOMORROW .....	Margaret Macleod 238
THE COTTON MILL WORKER .....	J. Lloyd Harrington 239
STORIES OF WRITERS AND ARTISTS .....	K.C. 239
FIVE YOUNG AMERICAN POETS, THIRD SERIES .....	James Wreford 240
THE SOLDIER .....	Margaret Avison 241
THE TRANSPLANTED .....	Eleanor McNaught 241
THE ORACLE OF BROADWAY A LOGGER'S ODYSSEY AS A CAVALRYMAN REMEMBERS I LOVE BOOKS .....	Alan Creighton 242
THE HIGHER HILL .....	Eleanor McNaught 242
THE WAY .....	J. F. Davidson 243
THE PRIVATE LIFE OF THE MASTER RACE .....	H.J. 243
INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS .....	S. G. Cameron 243

## O CANADA

Maj.-Gen. Griesbach recalled conversations he had had with Home Defense personnel. . . .

"I came to the conclusion that women teaching boys seven years and over was one of the reasons some of these men had no spirit to go to war. The rougher side of a man's nature is better for a boy at that age than the gentler side of a woman's nature."

(Vancouver Daily Province)

One of the main reasons for the demand of Senator Ballantyne, Senate Progressive-Conservative leader, that the Senate be called is known to be that some senators resented the implication that their presence was not essential to settle the reinforcement problem. (Toronto Star)

Soldiers in foreign lands like feminine company during their leisure time. It is more fun to dance with a girl than with another soldier as a floor partner. It is pleasant, also, to come out of front line for a rest and chat with a girl or play a mixed game of bridge or drink a cup of tea or coffee together.

(Globe and Mail)

"Now that we have conscripted men, there is not much left; we have already conscripted wealth," said Senator Black.

"Notwithstanding the CCF, we cannot go much further unless industry is to be throttled and initiative destroyed. That is the one thing we must avoid."

(Canadian Press report of debate in Canadian Senate)

Star-spangled gifts of Heaven-Sent, a light ethereal perfume created to make mortal woman feel immortal . . . Gifts accented by Enchanté, an elusive worldly perfume that spells sophistication.

(Advertisement in Globe and Mail)

Daily members of the general public are absorbing new data and concepts in economic matters. . . . Whether those ideas are on the beam or not will depend in large degree on the source of information and inspiration. . . . That is why the general meetings of Canadian chartered banks and the addresses of presidents and general managers are so valuable for those who will take the trouble to read them carefully.

(Wellington Jeffers in Globe and Mail)

Halifax, Dec. 3.—White feathers, symbols of cowardice in the first Great War, made their first appearance of this war here during the week-end when four women handed them out. . . . Among those getting them were five British members of the merchant navy, one of whom had been torpedoed five times since 1939. One was received by a Canadian Army veteran who had lost an arm in the Ortona fighting.

(Canadian Press dispatch)

## TOTAL WAR DEPARTMENT

A Handsome Tea Kettle—English Sheffield Reproduction, \$90. . . . Candle Sticks, ditto, per pair, \$36. . . . Sterling Silver Toilet Set (3 pieces), \$30. . . . Minton China Vases, per pair, \$45. (all subject to 25% government tax).

(Department Store Advertisement, Globe and Mail)

Divorces in Ontario have increased from 747 in 1939 to 1,088 for the first 10½ months of 1944. . . . Seriousness of the problem is reflected in a recent observation by Chief Justice Rose:

"If divorces continue at their present rate we will soon approach the time when there will be no married people left in the Province of Ontario."

(Globe and Mail)

This month's prize of six months' subscription goes to Mrs. J. A. Irving, Vancouver, B.C. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication.

## THE CANADIAN FORUM

Eleanor Godfrey - Managing Editor

Alan Creighton - Assistant Editor

L. A. Morris - Business Manager

Published each month by

CANADIAN FORUM LIMITED

28 Wellington Street West, Toronto 1, Ontario, Canada

Telephone WA. 5118

SUBSCRIPTION RATE: TWO DOLLARS A YEAR

Cheques to be made payable at par in Toronto.

Advertising rates on request.

Typography: Service Linotyping Co., Toronto

Press Work: Merchants Press, Toronto.

# THE CANADIAN FORUM

Vol. XXIV, No. 288



Founded 1920

Toronto, Ontario, January, 1945

## The End of 1944

The year draws to its close with all of us among the United Nations feeling a good deal gloomier than we did when the long awaited news of D-Day burst over the radio. On every front we are realizing that we are in for much harder fighting than we had expected. The delay in final victory has caused us our own acute internal troubles here in Canada; but they seem fairly trivial when we consider the difficulties that confront the United Nations in all quarters of the world. For the military difficulties have accentuated the political problems of Europe and the Far East. And the Realpolitik of our leaders is making all talk of peace on earth and good will to men look rather unreal this Christmas season.

## The Military Situation

In western Europe it must be admitted that the Germans have put up a magnificent defense since they brought the Anglo-American advance to a stop along the Siegfried line. As we write, a great German counter-attack is taking place, and evidently we face very heavy losses before we have brought Germany to unconditional surrender. In Italy also the Anglo-American advance has slowed down to a near standstill. Commentators are now openly wondering whether the whole advance north of Rome was worth while. On the eastern European front the Russians have dropped their direct attack through Poland and are busying themselves with securing their chosen sphere of influence in the Balkans and along the Danube, while the British are similarly occupied in Greece. And American papers, forgetful of the years before December 7, 1941, are now complaining that their British and Russian allies are leaving the Americans to do all the fighting.

In the Pacific sphere the war in recent months has been going much better. The American attack from the South Pacific towards the home islands of Japan has shown an unorthodox boldness which has brought some striking successes. But they have not been so great nor so cheap as the American public believes, bombarded as it is by the rival bombastic propaganda of General MacArthur and the naval leaders. And on the Asiatic mainland in China things have been going from bad to worse all year, until we have at last awakened to the fact that there is a possibility that China, after years of heroic resistance, may pass out altogether as a belligerent.

## Power Politics

China, we discover, is in this sad condition partly because of the failure of the Americans and the British to deliver sufficient supplies, but chiefly because the government of Chiang Kai-shek is more interested in maintaining its own position against Chinese communists than in fighting the Japanese. And as our illusions about Chinese democracy are slowly dissipated, we look to Europe only to find the bad old European power politics flourishing as of old. The Atlantic Charter has become a scrap of paper. The lofty war aims of the early part of the war are now seen to have meant very little; and liberals all over the English-speaking

world, who suffer from a congenital fondness for being cheated by their own high-flying idealism, are now enjoying themselves in a chorus of moans about the difference between freedom and democracy in the abstract and the concrete realities of European politics.

The ugliest feature of the European situation at the moment is the insistence of the Churchill government on backing up the rightist forces in Italy, Belgium and Greece. Mr. Churchill is his old unregenerate Tory self again, insolent, cocksure and contemptuous of criticism. Outside of the Tory majority in the British House of Commons and of the good Tory colonials in such places as Toronto, his policy has met with practically universal condemnation; and, if persisted in, it is clearly going to lose Britain her greatest asset in the post-war world, the reputation of being the bulwark of democracy and self-government for the small peoples of a world threatened by giant powers. It seems so obvious that the one way not to secure British interests in the Mediterranean is to surround that sea with peoples who cherish grievances against British policy that one would think that even Tories intent on power politics could see the folly of the recent actions of the British government. At any rate, it is becoming clear to all non-Tories that the continuance of the Churchill regime is costing Britain more than it is worth at this stage of the war.

This Tory power politics is especially stupid because it has evidently induced the Soviet government to take steps to counter British policy all along the line. After long delays Stalin has compelled the Churchill government to abandon the Polish government in London, and Poland must accept whatever Russia decides for her. Mr. Churchill's attempt to build up a connection with Marshal Tito in Jugo-Slavia has been rebuffed. And since no one believes that the umbilical cord which joins the communist parties of western Europe to Mother Russia has been really cut, we must take it for granted that the vigorous communist resistance to the British government in all the countries within the British sphere of influence is inspired from Moscow. France also has made it clear that she is not going to accept the proposed British bloc in western Europe. General de Gaulle announces by the haste he has made to sign a treaty with the Soviet government that he intends to play off Moscow against London. In fact what appears to be happening is that Russia, while making sure of her own exclusive sphere of influence in the east of Europe, is insisting on having a hand in the politics of the west as well. And her recent little trouble with Iran over oil concessions may be taken to be a serving of notice to the British and to any others who may be concerned that she intends to make her influence felt in the Middle East also, a region in which the British have regarded themselves as dominant since the last war.

In the meantime the American government has dissociated itself from British policy in Italy and Greece and Russian policy in Poland. The American people, as they watch these goings-on in Europe, are showing signs of a revival of isolationism again. The significant thing is that both the old narrowly nationalistic isolationists and the liberals who have been interventionist are showing an increasing distaste with European power politics. When the G.I. Joes come back from overseas with their tales of what they have seen this tendency to withdraw from Europe is going to be

strengthened. And along with it will go also a strengthened tendency to insist on American paramountcy on both sides of the Pacific.

Well, all this doesn't look like a very happy new year, does it? If it will make anyone feel better during the holiday season, we will add our small voice to the chorus which is demanding that the Big Three get together soon in another Teheran. Whether champagne dinners do much to alter the realities of power politics is another question.

## Meaning of the Crisis

Now that provision has been made to meet the shortage in army reinforcements and Mr. King is assured a majority which makes an immediate election unnecessary, observers are beginning to examine the underlying reason for the crisis. Grant Dexter, in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, has pointed to evidence in statements of Mr. Ralston and Mr. King that the latter was taken completely by surprise by the report which the former brought back from overseas. It seems clear that Mr. Ralston himself was surprised by what he found, not in actual but in prospective shortages. He made the startling revelation that no track had been kept in Canada of the reinforcement situation; it had been left entirely in the hands of the General Staff overseas. Mr. King pointed out that on all occasions when army expansion had been authorized, or when, as in August, the question of reinforcements had been discussed, the General Staff had seemed satisfied that requirements could be met on a voluntary basis; and that in September, at the time of the Quebec Conference, when any doubt in the minds of the military authorities might have been expected to receive an airing, none had been brought to the government's attention.

The touch of panic which Mr. Ralston transmitted to the cabinet may well have been due in part to realization of the unpleasant position in which he had been placed by the General Staff's negligence. The retirement of General Stuart which followed is significant, and has led to suggestions that a complete shake-up in the General Staff is in order.

The outstanding fact that emerged from the debate was the unalterable opposition of Quebec to overseas conscription. Of this fact Mr. King has been sharply conscious from the beginning. The plebiscite, a supposed authorization to Mr. King to impose conscription, was never so regarded by Quebec, which voted overwhelmingly "No." There is no need to reiterate here the historic reasons for that attitude, nor to suppose that it was mere party considerations that made Mr. King so keenly conscious of it. From that consciousness had sprung the famous pair of words with which he qualified his promise to introduce conscription "when necessary and advisable." The storm that followed the order-in-council confirmed his realism. Even Mr. St. Laurent, reluctantly supporting the government's order for "partial conscription," made it clear that he was voting against convictions both personal and representative. Mr. Power, the man who had thrown himself heart and soul into building the RCAF and developing the Commonwealth Air Training Plan, felt so strongly about it that he resigned, not merely from the cabinet, but from public life. Such actions do not arise from considerations of narrow personal or political advantage.

But there was, apart from the historical one, another reason for Quebec's opposition, seen both in Mr. Power's speech and in those of Colonel Lapointe (just returned

from overseas) and of Mr. Tucker (a Saskatchewan M.P.). It was the feeling that the crisis, if not manufactured, had been brought about by a determination on the part of English-speaking politicians and their press to frustrate the voluntary effort; that the same elements, aided by others, had been responsible for a disproportionate expansion and wrong disposal of Canada's army; and that even the admitted shortage, but for an intransigent hatred of Quebec and of Mr. King, could have been met by a loyal support of the voluntary method. Actions of certain commanding officers, since whitewashed, supported this latter conviction. It is also supported by signs that the Tories, rejecting the solution arrived at, are still bent on using the conscription issue to further their pursuit of "the sweets of office" without regard for the welfare of Canada but only for the selfish interests which they represent.

The issue of overseas conscription became involved with the reinforcement emergency largely because of the government's refusal from the outset of the war to adopt a full mobilization policy—mobilization of material, financial and human resources on a planned, co-ordinated basis. With such a policy, it should not have been necessary to have "conscription," inimical as it has always been to Canadian unity. Without it, a one-sided conscription of men for overseas army service is obviously inequitable and more than ever calculated to be disruptive. But the government's muddling of the whole manpower question, plus the fanatical and largely partisan drive to sabotage the voluntary system by the same elements who resisted any thought of conscripting wealth, drove Mr. King into a compromise, which saved him from defeat only because a majority of the house realized that an election just now on the conscription issue would have jeopardized what unity remains and the effectiveness of our whole war effort.

## Bankers' Boomings

This journal gladly pays its annual tribute to our bank presidents, whose droning fills the air at this season and gets into print, first in full panoply of display type at advertising rates, and then variously and ad nauseam in the news columns of a subservient press. We thank them for doing so much to spread socialistic ideas among the common people. This year they are more than ever on the defensive. Having escaped by a narrow squeak the curtailment of their powers and exposure of their hidden reserves, they celebrate the renewal of their ten-year charters with a solemn booming that fails to conceal their jittery nerves, carefully glossing over the unpleasant fact that some of them have had to disgorge part of last year's excessive takings under pressure from the government. "We shall probably hear much from the panacea vendors within the next few years," bleats the president of the Bank of Montreal—don't look now, but he means the CCF—"and we shall do well to cultivate a nice sense of discrimination in appraising their wares." So what? "Real and enduring economic security can only be achieved through risk. I do not know whether this is a law of economics, but I am convinced that it is a law of life." There's a nice sense of discrimination for you! But, as usual, it is the president of the Dominion Bank who takes the cake for obscurantism and blatancy. "Socialism progresses to its final stage of regimentation and dictatorship," he pontificates. "Socialistic Germany rapidly reached dictatorship under Hitler. . . . We are fighting in foreign countries a costly war to prevent such regimentation involving our country. At the same time we must be on our guard not to permit to be

within our own State an equal socialization with equal results." If Mr. Carlisle doesn't know it, he should: the socialism advocated in Canada has nothing, potentially or otherwise, in common with the so-called "national socialism" of Hitler. He will never find that out, however, so long as he listens to hirelings like Gladstone Murray, Bert Trestail, et al. But there! What can you expect of a man who sees no hope of Canada solving her post-war problems "unless politicians cease their misleading propaganda causing people to believe that postwar conditions will be free from want, free from fear, free from unemployment, free from depressions; that people will enjoy higher standards of living; that we shall have shorter working hours . . . that if we can finance war production we can finance peace production." What price the Four Freedoms? Or is the bankers' freedom to exercise a dictatorship over our credit system the only freedom that matters?

## National Party Emerges

That the CCF is rapidly emerging as the one really national party in Canada was again evidenced at the recent national convention in Montreal, at which more than one-fifth of those attending were French-speaking Canadians. The reason, of course, is that the CCF alone presents a platform of economic and social reconstruction which comes home to the "business and bosoms" of all Canadians, and upon which all can unite. The convention, as usual, dealt with the realities of people's lives, hammering out in thoroughly democratic fashion the framework of specific undertakings which will make daily living more secure, more harmonious and richer in opportunity for everyone. The federal election manifesto evolved from this hard thinking and concentrated discussion charted the changes needed in our domestic economy, our external trade and political relations and our federal constitution. We commend it to our readers' earnest study. The delegates showed a determination to seek political power on a pledge to work for these objectives, and not on vague and windy promises which conceal an alliance with economic groups interested only in their own privilege and dominance.

As usual, the tied press professed to see a lot of things that did not exist. In the close discussion it scented cleavage and disunity. In the shaping of means to ends it contrived to see ignominious "compromise." The *Winnipeg Free Press*, for instance, cavils at the mention of co-operative management of some industries in addition to the "socialization" of others, as though the CCF had not for years been advocating both forms of management and declaring it had no desire to restrict social control to one particular form nor even to eliminate private ownership from fields in which it could function usefully. The truth is that the public is beginning to realize that the CCF has never been the collection of dogmatic cranks and "wild-eyed theorists" that its self-interested critics have made it out to be, but a body of hard-headed realists who know what they are talking about and what is needed to guide Canada through the transition from an era of buccaneering "free enterprise" into an era of planned and socially directed progress.

Correction: In the review of *The Communities of Tolstoyans* in the December issue the address of Canadian Fellowship for Co-operative Community was given incorrectly as 237 Bloor St. West. The correct address is: 273 Bloor St. West, Toronto.

## National Unity

► MR. KING'S sudden abandonment of his stand against conscription saved us from a general election on the most inflammatory of all possible issues. Whatever may be thought of some of his actions during the critical period of the recent session of Parliament, most Canadians should be thankful to him for that achievement. The rug-chewers of the *Toronto Globe and Mail* and the fanatics across the country who were determined to oust him from office by any means have been defeated, and even if his motives were no higher than to keep these people out of office he deserves our gratitude. Of course the question of reinforcements for our forces overseas may not have been finally settled. If the war continues through the spring and summer with heavy Canadian casualties, we shall find that we have committed ourselves to keeping up a larger armed force than is possible without drastic overhauling of our civilian manpower policy. But perhaps Mr. King's customary good luck will save him from this crisis.

The crisis brings an era in Canadian politics to an end. Since Laurier came into office in 1896 the French Canadians have formed an almost solid bloc in support of the Liberal party. In the voting in the recent session of Parliament Mr. King held his French ministers except one, and kept a large part of the Quebec membership loyal to him. But everyone knows that public opinion in French Quebec is solid against conscription. The situation has been exactly like that which faced Macdonald in the Riel crisis of 1885-6.

Macdonald had at that time to choose between holding on to his English-speaking followers by allowing Riel to hang or appeasing his French-speaking followers by commuting the sentence; and, just as Mr. King has done today, he decided in favor of the English. Like Mr. King he headed a party of which the largest contingent came from French Canada. There was a tremendous upheaval in Quebec over the Riel issue, but Macdonald in the critical division held on to his French ministers and to most of the French private members. Chapleau's famous speech in defense of the government's policy was very much like that of Mr. St. Laurent today. And poor half-insane Riel became a symbol to the fanatics on both sides of the determination of each race not to be dominated by the other, just as the conscription issue has become in our own day. In the provincial politics of Quebec the Conservative government was upset by a nationalist movement under Mercier, just as the Liberal government of today has been upset by another nationalist movement under Duplessis. But in the federal sphere, in the general election of 1887, Macdonald recovered some of his French following as the excitement died down, just as Mr. King may recover some of his in the election during this coming year. Yet it is plain to see now that 1885 marked the beginning of the end of the long collaboration of the two races within the Liberal-Conservative party.

The two main national groups in Canada have never co-operated with each other whole-heartedly. At best they reach a temporary form of collaboration which carries them along without too much friction for a decade or a generation. At worst they drift into a crisis such as we have been experiencing, in which the wild men on each side talk of breaking up our national union altogether. André Siegfried described our relationship as "a *modus vivendi* without cordiality," and this is what it is likely to remain. But geography has made it impossible for us to separate, and so

wise Canadians will devote themselves to considering what the terms of the necessary *modus vivendi* are to be.

One peculiar feature in our history is the phenomenon of a bi-racial political party which seems to be necessary to enable the two national groups to work together successfully in the field of government. The first of these parties was the Reform coalition of Baldwin and Lafontaine which won responsible government in the 1840's and showed the impossibility of Lord Durham's conception of governing Canada through one racial group alone and of anglicizing the other group. The second was the Liberal-Conservative party, constructed by Macdonald and Cartier in 1854, which dominated Canadian politics for a generation. The third was Laurier's Liberal party. The opposition to these successive governmental parties has usually been ineffective because it has been unable to make any impression upon the French part of our population. It is worth noting that Laurier captured the support of his fellow French Canadians from the disintegrating Liberal-Conservative party in 1896 in spite of the fact that he had all of his church, lower clergy as well as bishops, against him on the Manitoba school question. Laurier's bi-racial governmental party has continued into our own generation under Mr. King.

Apparently it is only through this technique of a bi-racial party embodying in itself the willingness of the two races to work together for a decade or a generation that the deep cleavages in our Canadian community can be overcome. Only when French and English are bound together in the loyalty of a common political party, held to one another by the pull of party machinery and party patronage, can they overcome the opposite attractions of national and religious prejudices and fanaticism.

What will be the political party which achieves this racial *modus vivendi* in the next phase of our national history? And who will be its leader? Or rather, who will be its joint leaders? For these successful national parties have as a rule been held together by two leaders, one an English Canadian and one a French Canadian—Baldwin and Lafontaine, Macdonald and Cartier, King and Lapointe. It was Laurier's chief source of weakness that, after Blake retired from Canadian public life, he never found another English-speaking colleague to whom he could give his complete confidence. Our two races need not only a common party but this additional feature of joint leadership, unique in the annals of British cabinet government. The two leaders must be intellectually and temperamentally akin so that they remain friends through thick and thin, or else their party will not survive the strain which is put upon party unity by the inherent sectionalism of our Canadian life.

Of course everyone who knows anything about Canadian history, everyone who has read anything beyond the Toronto Tory papers, knows that the cleavage between the two races which is such a problem to us just now does not date from Mr. King's day and is not due to his leadership since 1921, as Tory demagogues in Ontario would have it.

Confederation itself in 1867 was an effort to break a deadlock between Upper and Lower Canada which had plagued Canadian politics for a dozen years previously. It was thought that by letting each racial group manage its own local affairs under a federal constitution, and control its own cultural institutions, while they co-operated in the building up of a continental nation, the age-old problem of English-French relations would at last be solved. But Confederation was no sooner achieved than Ontario and Quebec plunged into a new imperialist struggle for the domination of the Canadian West. This broke out with the Red River rebellion of 1869-70 and continued through the rebellion of 1885 (which led to the hanging of Riel), it continued

also into the Manitoba schools crisis of the 1890's, and it was still going on when Laurier stirred up a storm in 1905 over the separate schools of the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. Yet it was noteworthy that popular passions gradually abated during this period, and the last storm of 1905 was a comparatively minor one.

Unfortunately by the time that we seemed to be settling down to deal with our domestic differences in a reasonably calm spirit, a new issue from outside was injected into Canadian politics which has led to even bitterer differences between English and French than the old domestic issues. This has been, of course, the question of Canadian participation in overseas British wars. In 1885 Macdonald refused to send a Canadian contingent to the Sudan expedition "to get Gladstone and Co. out of the hole they have plunged themselves into by their own imbecility." But in 1899 Laurier felt himself compelled by pressure from his English-Canadian followers to send a contingent to the Boer war, and the cleavage which began then has been deepened by the two world wars of our own time.

French Canadians refuse to believe that the enthusiasm displayed by English Canadians for plunging into these wars is due to any superior understanding by us English Canadians of world conditions. And they put it down—as does every observer outside Canada—to our inherited English colonial loyalty. Today we seem as far as ever from agreeing with one another on the responsibilities and implications of Canadian nationality. In peace time there are plenty of English Canadians who agree with the French Canadians, but when war breaks out they are swept by the emotions of group solidarity, and the old racial division re-emerges. In this recent conscription crisis a French-Canadian leader like Mr. St. Laurent could distinguish himself by appealing to his racial group to make concessions to the other group, but no English Canadian leader appeared to make any similar appeal to his own group. To get over this deep difference about foreign policy we seem to depend on a world which is fundamentally at peace, a factor in determining our destiny which we ourselves cannot control.

It is worth noting that the policy to which both Macdonald and Laurier had recourse when they tried to calm the storms aroused over English-French quarrels was that of taking our minds off racial and religious differences and directing them towards economic development. Macdonald's transcontinental railway-building and his N.P. were efforts to find projects on which leaders and members of the two racial groups could work together. Laurier's wheat boom almost made them forget their rival forms of civilization for a moment, for in the great expansion of the early 1900's there were opportunities for both English and French Canadians, and there was no time for them to sit and brood over their historic grievances. In our own day, since the last war, we have failed to find a national policy to take the place of the economic expansionism of Macdonald and Laurier. The prosperity of the 1920's was very unevenly distributed, and the depression of the 1930's gave a new outlet to racial bitterness. In the new industrial revolution of our age Quebec finds her natural resources appropriated by English-speaking capitalists, and it is only too easy for nationalist demagogues to convince their people that the trouble lies with the Englishry rather than with capitalism. When this war is over we shall have to set to work again to find a national economic policy suited to the new social needs of the twentieth century in which English and French Canadians, or a large proportion of them, can alike find opportunities. This will not produce national unity but it will restore a reasonable degree of national health by taking our minds off our national disunity.

# The Chicago Air Conference

S. G. Cameron

► THE RESULTS of the International Civil Aviation Conference are cause for deep concern, but not for surprise. Events leading up to the conference were clear in their implications of fundamental disagreement; and the conference realized those implications to the full, despite their grim portent for the future.

For obvious reasons the conference was long postponed. For more than a year it has been evident that American policy was crystallizing into an uncompromising opposition to any kind of effective international control of civil aviation. And it was equally evident that Commonwealth policy, with support from other quarters, favored the establishment of an effective international air authority. Adolf Berle, Jr., then Assistant Under-Secretary of State, attempted to meet the immediate needs of the United States by seeking the bilateral agreements required to launch American airlines into post-war air transport. Last spring and summer he made hush-hush trips to Ottawa and London; and met with missions from Chungking and Moscow. Without exception the reaction appears to have been non-committal. Meanwhile, the need for at least preliminary decisions grew more urgent. Since Washington had failed by every other means to achieve its purpose of opening the way for globe-encircling expansion of American air services, the State Department acceded to British pressure and in mid-September issued invitations for a world conference.

At precisely this point, the trouble began. The invitations were issued on American terms. It was specified that the conference should deal with questions pertaining to the interim period. This entailed bringing technical standards up to date and mapping out specific routes, but no consideration of an international air authority other than of an advisory nature. On the basis of that agenda 52 nations, including Russia, agreed to attend. Shortly before the conference opened, however, the British White Paper was published and it became clear that London would seek by multi-lateral agreement a permanent organization with executive powers. To anyone familiar with American and British views, a clash was readily foreseen.

Therein may well lie the reason for Russia's abrupt withdrawal three days before the conference opened. Her interest in international air transport is limited. Her continued refusal to permit foreign aircraft to fly over her territory springs from a long-standing suspicion of the hostile intentions of other powers. She was certain that in its broader purposes the conference would fail because of Anglo-American differences. More important, because of her own opposition to unqualified freedom of the air, she would likely be blamed for the conference failure. So with the utter realism which characterizes Russian foreign policy, she withdrew at the eleventh hour to allow it to become clear to the world that the rift lay between British and American policies.

## Conference Gets Underway

The early days of the conference saw the lines clearly drawn. On the one hand the United States, with the chairmanship of the all-important Committee on Air Routes in hand, sought to have the delegates direct their attention to the immediate post-war problem of establishing airlines. Adolf Berle, head of the American delegation, advocated so-called freedom of the air. In seeking this free competition among nations, the Americans proposed to limit the international body to authority over uniform technical standards,

such as air safety, weather reports, landing signals, and quarantine regulations, with purely "consultative" functions on economic and political problems.

On the other hand, Lord Swinton, head of the British delegation, called for an effective international organization which would control competition by assigning national quotas and setting rates and frequency of schedules. In effect, the British argument ran: "Airlines established under any other conditions will result in cut-throat competition, eventually threatening world peace. Before deciding on routes, let us set up the framework of rules and regulations within which air transport will operate and establish the international body empowered to enforce those rules and regulations."

The Canadian delegation took an intermediate stand. Our position had been made clear in the draft convention which dealt primarily with the permanent organization; it was in essence the same as that which Britain now advocated. But before presentation to the conference in Chicago, it had been modified by making provision for an interim organization in order to meet the American viewpoint.

Australia and New Zealand went beyond the British proposal in advocating international control and operation of international trunk lines. France and Afghanistan gave active support. The proposal was treated with a tolerant indifference in most quarters and Brazil led the attack which disposed of it. It must be added, however, that if the proposal had been made in more practical rather than general and idealistic terms, its merits would have been given greater consideration. For eventually, if not now, international ownership and operation of international trunk lines offer the only hope for a just and stable settlement of air transport problems—a fact which was privately admitted by many delegates who officially opposed the New Zealand proposal.

For weeks the deadlock continued. American news reports coming out of Chicago described the British policy as one of "cartelization"—a smart publicity effort streamlined to catch every American prejudice. The situation was bedeviled by the persistent lobbying of the major United States aviation interests who operated both inside and outside the conference. The halls of the Stevens Hotel teemed with representatives of special interests. For example, Pan-American Airways not only had several officials in the conference hotel, but one of the Costa Rican delegates was Mario Saborio, Pan-American manager in Costa Rica; a delegate from Honduras, E. P. Lefebvre, was Pan-American manager at Tegucigalpa; and the Nicaraguan delegate was Richard E. Frizell, Pan-American manager in Nicaragua.

While the British delegation had scored initially in having the scope of the conference broadened, it became evident that the United States was gradually enlisting the support of a numerically powerful group opposing the idea. Notable in this group were the Latin American countries and representatives of reactionary exiled European governments. The latter presented a rather pitiful spectacle, for while the impact of the war's experience has been sufficient to teach the merit of seeking security before any profits that might accrue from air transport, nevertheless their opposition was spontaneous to anything that savored of "a planned economy."

## Latin American Countries

The case of the Latin American countries is a complex one. They are fearfully engrossed with each other and with the United States. The idea of seeking security through collective world action seems repugnant to them, for looming up in their external relations is the United States which they both need and fear. They have no deep knowledge of world affairs; at the moment they seem to be timidly emerging into something like 19th century liberalism. Their

delegates bandied about free enterprise, laissez faire, equal representation, equality before the law, free trade, and a score of similar clichés as though emerging into new fields of thought. In his opening address Mr. Berle tossed them a pleasant morsel called "juridical equality between nations." The phrase means nothing, but it caught on like a prairie fire and was chanted throughout the rest of the conference.

At the moment the Latin American countries appear to be experiencing an upsurge of national consciousness which promises to complicate world relations because of the tendency of these countries to fall in as satellites of the United States in world diplomacy. This was true at Bretton Woods; it was repeated at Chicago.

Many of the smaller Latin American countries seemed above all else to be obsessed with the fear that they might be left off international airlines. This is understandable enough, for they have little hope of getting into aviation themselves; existing communications are bad; and international air transport offers a golden opportunity for these countries to get into world commerce. Other nations, such as Norway, Sweden and Holland, have hopes of becoming world carriers. Their influence was thrown in the same direction. The result had a profound influence on the course of the conference, for the American position was strengthened.

During the first three and one-half weeks of the conference, discussion on the economic plane had been confined to the first four freedoms:

1. the right to fly across a country without landing;
2. the right to land for non-traffic purposes;
3. the right to set down passengers, mail and freight outbound from the country whose nationality the plane bears;
4. the right to pick up passengers, mail and freight inbound to the country whose nationality the plane bears.

Now the United States found that her position was strong enough to insist upon the interjection of the fifth freedom:

5. the right to carry traffic between two foreign countries.

When Mr. Berle advanced this American plan, it was reported to be the last compromise which the United States would submit. He took advantage of the situation to denounce the British stand in what has been reported as perhaps the most bitter and vindictive speech delivered at an international gathering in years.

The British delegates fought the American demand for exercise of the fifth freedom on the basis that it enables big, well prepared operators to pre-empt the international aviation field before others could get ready to participate.

#### *International Civil Aviation Organization*

As the deadlock persisted, the conference could do no more than agree to disagree. The conference concluded on its 37th day when sufficient signatures were obtained to establish an interim (not more than three years) organization. This document was accompanied by the two and five "freedom" agreements. Canada and Britain signed the first, but Britain conceded only the two "freedom" agreement and Canada deferred signature on both "freedom" agreements.

The interim organization—to be officially known as the provisional International Civil Aviation Organization—will be located in Canada. It will consist of an Assembly of all participating nations, each with one vote, as well as an executive board to be known as the Interim Council. The powers of the organization as a whole are purely technical or advisory in nature. The Assembly will meet annually, will elect its own president and will supervise the work done by the Council between Assembly meetings.

The Interim Council will have 21 members—one seat being reserved for Russia. Election of members was made in plenary session of the conference according to three categories. Seven places went to countries of chief importance in air transport—United States, Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Mexico and Brazil (Russia's reservation was made in this group). Five places went to countries making the largest provision of facilities for international aviation—Canada, Norway, Cuba, Peru and Iraq. Eight places were granted on the basis of giving representation to major geographical areas—China, Australia, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Turkey, Chile, Colombia and El Salvador. Both Norway and Cuba offered to withdraw on behalf of India; Cuba won in this contest of generosity.

As *The Nation* has commented: "How poignant was the failure in Chicago may be judged by the words with which President Roosevelt opened the Civil Aviation Conference: 'As we begin to write a new chapter in the fundamental law of the air, let us all remember that we are engaged in a great attempt to build enduring institutions of peace'."

*The Nation* then goes on to draw two conclusions: "... that deep American suspicion of an effective regulatory organization still prevents American collaboration in world affairs despite the precedent of the United Nations' war effort; and that Britain will not easily tolerate an invasion of commerce in spheres it once dominated." Both of these conclusions require elaboration.

In the first place, that Britain's action was motivated by a keen awareness of her comparatively weakened economic position is undoubtedly true, but it is irrelevant. In terms of world peace and security, the significant fact is that Britain sought effective international control of aviation without which the airplane will continue to be as much a curse as a blessing to mankind.

#### *Spearhead of Economic Imperialism*

In the second place, the so-called "deep American suspicion of an effective regulatory organization" is much more than just a compound of American isolationism. It is the spearhead of a new economic imperialism which is a most dangerous threat to world peace and security. Freedom of the air as sought by the United States is freedom for American airlines to establish such a stranglehold on the world's air routes that no other nation will be able to compete with them. This new-found interest in the freedom of the air contrasts strikingly with a pre-war policy which, for example, refused landing rights on the Hawaiian Islands to any other country.

It is noteworthy too that the United States airlines which led the attack against any effective international control of world aviation submit meekly to a very much larger measure of control at home. The Civil Aeronautics Act gives the C.A.B. vastly more control over them than either the British White Paper or the Canadian Draft Convention dared to contemplate. The only conclusion to be drawn is that while admitting this control to be necessary at home, they are not prepared to extend the same principles to the comity of nations.

Further, the general attitude of regarding international organizations with anything beyond regulatory powers as seeking to effect world cartelization is a fatuous perversion of the truth. The reasoned comment of B.T.R. in the *Winnipeg Free Press* is incontrovertible: "The confusion that regulation means restriction has obscured in American discussion the reality that failure to devise principles governing world air traffic will not mean general expansion of that traffic. It will mean rather that the world reverts to its pre-war position in which each nation deals only with each

other nation and national barriers will return and grow again. This will stifle world aviation and it will stifle American aviation."

It is well that those who opposed the American position at Chicago stood firm. Now the world may see the situation clearly and be at least that much closer to grasping its significance. The conclusion reached by this writer in the October issue of *The Canadian Forum* still stands: "Why an interim and advisory council? Both words bespeak half-way measures and a powerless international agency. . . . There are powerful interests who do not wish any international control of aviation restricting their 'freedom of the air.' If the nations of the world who believe otherwise do not permit themselves to be cowed into acquiescence, the conference will be a battle royal. It might as well be fought out now, around the conference table, as later, on the battlefields of World War III."

#### *The Brighter Side*

The Chicago Conference should not, however, be considered a total failure. The interim organization, despite its inadequacies, at least provides a starting point and an opportunity for working toward an effective international air authority. Sooner or later American airlines will learn that their far-flung routes are not gold mines and will therefore be more inclined to consider a co-operative effort. Europe offers a more immediate hope for it can reasonably be expected that within a few years her peoples will be favored with more progressive governments than those which have grown up in exile. But this will alter the picture only in so far as it provides greater support for the stand made by Britain at Chicago. If British policy in Europe is being previewed in her recent action in Belgium and Greece, the prospect of that European support is not bright.

There are two phases of the Chicago Conference which afford more pleasant commentary. The one is that on the technical side a high degree of agreement was reached. This was one of the chief purposes of the meeting. World aviation has been regulated for over a generation by the International Convention on Air Navigation, drawn up at Paris in 1919, to which the United States never became a party. The ICAN needed to be brought up-to-date. Committees at Chicago carried on with this work despite the manoeuvring from deadlock to deadlock which went on "upstairs," and where they did not complete it, the work can be readily handled by the interim organization. This in itself was enough to justify the conference.

The second is the role which Canada played. At no world conference has our prestige been higher or our influence greater. The position which our delegation won for us was altogether out of proportion to our population or commercial significance. The term "Big Three" was in common usage; on the economic and political plane, and in influencing conference negotiations, Canada was openly accepted in the same grouping as Britain and the United States. On the technical side, Canadian leadership was if anything even more in evidence. Canadian technicians without any particular effort dominated every committee.

There is another feature of Canada's role which should not be missed. Although Canadian views were almost identical, they never became identified with those of Britain. Our delegation played the role of active intermediary between the Anglo-American powers. When a particularly low point was reached as the conference went into its fourth week, it was H. J. Symington, head of the Canadian delegation, along with Mayor La Guardia, who sternly warned British and American leaders of the consequences of their disagreement. In refer-

ence to the truncated organization which the partial draft of that moment suggested, Mr. Symington said: "... I submit that the world expects more than this from this conference." The fact that the world got no more is due to no lack of effort on the part of the Canadian delegation. In his closing remarks Adolf Berle, as president of the council, paid tribute "with particular affection" to Canada's representation. And the choice of a Canadian city as seat of the interim organization speaks more eloquently than words.

## Germany and the Future

*Dorothy Fraser*

► BOOKS AND ARTICLES by the score are discussing the question of a "hard" or a "soft" peace for Germany. Joseph Harsch, an able commentator, has some remarks which are good as far as they go: "The core of the whole problem is how to make it possible for Germany to achieve its own salvation. The Allied powers must attempt to eliminate the militaristic poison from the German mind. They must also, within the limits of what is to the best interests of the entire European community, make restitution to Hitler's victims. Beyond that they can give Germany a breathing-spell from its own would-be tyrants and a chance to build a new civic life."

"Its own would-be tyrants!" Mr. Harsch is more profound than most commentators in realizing that the "deferred German revolution" must come to pass, but he offers no thought as to what that revolution is, and what its implications are. Vagueness here is a highly dangerous flaw.

For all the impassioned oratory, all the careful compiling of points pro and con, all the practical or impractical "solutions" which are not based on economic fact are utterly unrealistic emanations from Cloud Cuckoo Land. No one is asking why Fascism arises. No one is demanding that the situation in which it arises be totally destroyed and another structure put in its place.

Fascism is counter-revolution. Revolution may proceed quietly and efficiently transferring power slowly or quickly from one group to another. This transfer of power is always to be seen whenever the economic grouping proves incapable of expansion to meet changed conditions. The feudal lord loses his power to the mercantile class. The economic system of medieval times proved too rigid to allow for expansion, and since it would not expand, it had to break. Today there is similar rigid control by a small group of monopoly capitalists whose system cannot distribute the abundance that technology offers. That power must pass to a wider group who can carry out the implications of technology. We can see this occurring in a decelerated manner in Scandinavia, in New Zealand and so on. (It is of course necessary to look at this in an over-simplified way, in the large movement of many years, to see what the details mean.)

But the threatened group cannot take a long view, and will not adjust itself to changing conditions. It will try any and every means at its disposal, including force, to prevent this re-distribution of power. The power of the modern monopolist is power over the daily production of wealth that he will not give up until he must; it is control over the natural resources of the nations and therefore power over the labor employed on those resources, their processing and final distribution. Under today's conditions, this is world-power.

In Germany industrialization had become so complete that the cartel and trade association were the ruling type of enterprise. The few lords of these great industrial em-

pires were the true dictators of the nation. When these lords saw the rising spirit of the workers, saw the ability of their leaders, saw the promise of the 1920's towards a better world, they knew at once that they must strike soon. The possibility of a socialist vote was enough. They looked about them for a means, and found an obscure political party that could well operate upon the economically dispossessed and therefore frustrated middle class.

Statistical evidence of cartels, interlocking arrangements, and so on, is readily available, the most recent full treatment being *Business as a System of Power*, by R. A. Brady. Unnoticed news items bear out some of these statements. Here is a summary of a United Press report from England, dated July 29, 1944:

"One of the major mysteries is the fate of the 'big six' of Germany industry — a group of hard-bitten, little-known men who backed Adolph Hitler and some of whom have had cause to regret it. Because they are so powerful, it is doubted whether they have been arrested, but on the other hand, five of them have not been offering public pledges of fealty to the Fuehrer. Few people knew anything about these all-powerful men who lived in castles on the Rhine and conduct their affairs from great offices in Essen and Duesseldorf.

"1. *Hermann Goering*. Owns the largest industrial workings in Europe, employing 1,000,000 people. He owns one-fifth of German mining and metal industries. He started in coal and steel, but today controls synthetic oil-refineries, inland waterways, shipping, banks and numerous small plants.

"2. *Paul Pleiger*. Friend of Goering, member of the German Armaments Council, chairman of boards of steel and iron concerns, member of the Reichsbank advisory board. 'He has always passed himself off as a Nazi, but when the crash comes, he would probably try to save his own skin and some of Goering's empire by collaborating with the new régime.'

"3. *Hermann Schmitz*, head of the great dye-trust, I. G. Farben-industrie, with 300,000 employees and ramifications all over Europe. (Bayer's aspirin belongs to this trust, and profits now being made on this continent from the sale of Bayer's aspirin are being held, to be turned over to I. G. Farben at the end of the war.) Schmitz has belonged to the Democratic, Bavarian People's, and the Centre parties. When it was no longer safe not to be a Nazi, he joined the Nazis. He is expected to pass himself off as a moderate.

"His leading assistant is a personable young German named Max Ilgner, who was often used by the Nazis for contact with industrialists in the United States before the war.

"4. *Friederich Flick*. Also friend of Goering, and Nazi contributor. Successor to Thyssen as head of the great Ruhr steel corporation, Vereinigte Stahlwerke. Flick is also expected to pass as a moderate after the war.

"5. *Hermann Roebling*. Head of a large Ruhr and Saar steel group who have helped themselves to holdings in Czechoslovakia and Lorraine. He helped to underwrite the grandiose publicity campaigns that helped the Fuehrer to skyrocket to power. He will probably fall with Hitler.

"6. *Gustav Krupp von Bohlen and Halbach*. Head of the Krupp armaments in Essen — largest in the world. Of all the industrialists, he has accepted Nazism with the greatest reluctance and he lost much of his power when a Nazi decree stripped Krupp of its subsidiaries some months ago. He will probably try to change his colors when the Nazis fall, but like other cautious German men of wealth, he probably remembers Thyssen, who changed his mind too soon."

This dispatch plainly shows the power behind Fascism. It may develop a dynamic of its own, and turn upon some of its creators who do not play its game, but that is a minor point. All arguments about a "hard" or a "soft" peace are irrelevant, until such time as we are assured that men of such power lose it, for it must not be forgotten that they can sway a nation any way they wish. Through sympathetic associations they control radio and press, and can easily place their will on all except the most determinedly incorruptible of parliamentary and congressional representatives.

De Gaulle has taken over the great Reynault motor works in the name of the people of France. This is the fundamental point. Until there is assurance that some type of public ownership — ownership which can be controlled in the interests of peace and security — is planned for Germany, then any schemes for policing, etc., are just so much waste of time.

The cartel-structures do not necessarily need to be broken up, as many people are now suggesting. Efficiency demands large undertakings and only mass-production can bring goods to all the people. Irresponsible power-drunk ownership by a handful of intriguers who know no good but profits, and who are so placed that their desires control the world's move towards peace or war must go. The great industries of Germany must come under responsible public ownership so that Germany may have "a breathing spell from its own tyrants," but it must indeed be made quite clear who those tyrants are and what caused their rise. Most American thinking on this topic is singularly superficial. "National immaturity" has nothing to do with it. Fascism has a chance in any nation.

These economic and industrial facts should be the basis for argument about the future of Germany. There must be a clear understanding of where the real power is, and then all details of occupation, or erasing military ideas, and so on, are seen in a truer light. It is high time that pressure was brought to bear on our leaders, urging them to announce a policy towards the "industrial giants" of Germany (and of Italy too, and most particularly of Japan) and the great cartels they control. Removing a certain set of men and leaving the cartel structure in the hands of similar-minded ghouls will be as useful as removing the Kaiser and leaving the conditions that caused Germany to turn to war. This time we should have learnt our lesson, and should make all these damning facts as public as we possibly can, and then demand action.

## Gift

Now—rise early,  
Scurry through the cold December morning,  
Stretch out on the little bed,  
Still a bit drowsy,  
Sleeve rolled up and necktie loosened  
And open and close the fingers of one hand

So that, next year or the year after,  
The men who called you, yesterday, a lying bastard  
And a useless cripple  
May be saved, in some desert place,  
From stretching out beneath the sand.

The millennium comes by degrees, by drops:  
Blood in a bottle, water wearing away stone.  
It is not here yet.

Charles Frederick Boyle.

# Canada's Cost-of-Living Index

William Mercer

► IN DECEMBER, 1943, the Dominion Government abandoned its policy of tying wages to the cost-of-living index and the violent criticism of the index subsided. Lack of faith in the cost-of-living index as a measure of the increase in the cost of living remained. However, since Canadian citizens' wages were no longer governed by this highly theoretical calculation of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the average Canadian assumed that he was no longer concerned with its accuracy.

Today, the cost-of-living index stands at 118.0. The Dominion Government states that the average urban family can buy a quantity and quality of goods and services today for \$1.18 comparable to what the family could buy in August, 1939, for \$1.00. Put in another way, a family which received a monthly cheque for \$200.00 in August, 1939, should maintain the same standard of living if it received a monthly cheque for \$236.00 in 1944.

No one need point out the absurdity of these figures to the average Canadian family. However, the Dominion Government takes refuge behind public ignorance of the statistical procedure and professes complete faith in the accuracy of the cost-of-living index. The Government goes so far as to quote the index as conclusive proof of its achievement in the field of inflation control.

The Canadian people should not make the mistake of leveling their criticism of the cost-of-living index at the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. That overworked body of civil servants is doing a commendable job today. It is only unfortunate that the Government has seized upon one of the Bureau's highly theoretical calculations and used it for a purpose for which it was not intended. The Bureau has been put in the position where it must defend the accuracy of its index while the Government has gone so far as to dictate the procedure to be followed in its calculation (i.e. Order-in-Council P.C. 2619).

What stake have the Canadian people in the cost-of-living index? Why should they continue to be concerned with its accuracy?

First of all, the cost-of-living index is one measure of the sacrifice made by the Canadian people, in the prosecution of the war. Total wage payments, even after taxes, have increased markedly during the war. If the cost of living has increased by only 18.0%, then obviously the average Canadian family has enjoyed a greatly improved standard of living throughout the war years. That will be the interpretation drawn by future generations from the official statistics of the Dominion Government.

Secondly, the cost-of-living index can be used, and almost certainly will be used, by the present Canadian Government for political propaganda. The Canadian voter will be told over and over again of his Government's remarkable achievement in holding down the wartime increase in the cost of living to a mere 18%. Such statistical skulduggery is no basis of credit for any government.

## The Theory of the Cost-of-living Index

To understand the failure of the cost-of-living index to measure the wartime increase in the cost of living, it is necessary to know something of the theory of the index. First of

all, broad general items are given a "weight" in the family budget. Fuel and light, for example, are given a "weight" of 6/100. Then a few commodities are selected to represent all the purchases which are normally made under that heading. Coal, gas and electricity, for example, were selected to represent all the different types of fuel and light which are normally used in Canada. Similarly 60 items of food were selected to represent all the many hundreds of different foods consumed in Canada.

Taking fuel as an example, the Dominion Government found that the cost of coal, gas and electricity increased 11% during the war years. Since fuel has a "weight" of 6/100 in the cost-of-living index, the increase of 11% is responsible for .7% ( $11\% \times 6/100$ ) in the total cost of living increase of 18.0%.

The theory of the cost-of-living index is good. In normal times it does provide an accurate measure of gradual changes in the cost of living. Why it has failed to measure the wartime inflation in living costs is explained in the following paragraphs. Some of the examples given may seem insignificant but each is representative of a whole range of increased living costs which have not been measured by the cost-of-living index.

## Comparisons of "Regular" Prices Are Unsound

When Ottawa's statisticians compute the cost-of-living index they compare "regular" prices in August, 1939, with "regular" prices today. If the "regular" price of a certain type of men's shirt in August, 1939, was \$2.50 and if the "regular" price today is \$3.00, the increase in the cost to the consumer is assumed to be 50c or 20%. However, suppose that the shirt was frequently sold in 1939 on sale days for \$1.99. This, in effect, would be the "regular" price for the thrifty Canadian housewife who bought her husband's shirts. Very few of these shirts might be sold for the "regular" price of \$2.50.

In 1944, special prices are things of the past. Commodities and services are in short supply and there is no need of special prices to promote their sale. For the thrifty Canadian housewife the cost of shirts has jumped from \$1.99 to \$3.00 or 67% and not from \$2.50 to \$3.00 or 20%, the increase which would be used in computing the cost-of-living index.

When we recall the huge volume of goods and services which was sold in 1939 at special prices, it is not difficult to understand how the failure to take this factor into account has, in itself, destroyed the validity of the cost-of-living index.

## Quality Deterioration

In theory, the cost-of-living index is supposed to take into account quality changes. If, for example, the wearing quality of a pair of shoes drops by one-third, then the cost of living as far as shoes are concerned has increased 50% since it now takes three pairs of shoes to give the same service as two pairs formerly gave. In actual practice, very few of these quality deteriorations are reflected in the cost-of-living index. It is ridiculous to suppose that the retailer or professional man will admit to the government that he has allowed the quality of his merchandise or service to fall. The few men employed to collect a part of the cost-of-living data are not competent to measure the deterioration in quality of all the goods which enter into the cost of living.

Before the war it was possible to buy a man's suit for \$30.00. Today it is possible to buy a man's suit for \$35.00, an increase of 17%. However, today's \$35.00 suit is not the same garment as 1939's \$30.00 suit. In spite of what the Wartime Prices and Trade Board may say, it is a much

inferior one and can be worn for only a relatively short time before it must be discarded. When a Canadian walks into the store to buy a suit of the same wearing quality as he bought in 1939 for \$30.00, he cannot expect to get it for \$35.00. He will probably have to pay \$60.00 for it. His cost of clothing will not have jumped 17%; it will have jumped 100%.

Such quality deterioration is common today, particularly in clothing and furniture. It has been an important factor in the wartime increase in the *cost of living* although only a small part of its effect has been reflected in the *cost-of-living index*.

### Substitutions

There are many goods which have disappeared or which appear only occasionally on the store counters of the nation. The 5c cigar is just one example. Now the 5c cigar still sells at 5c (plus tax) and there has been no increase in the cost-of-living index as far as cigars are concerned. The only trouble is that there usually just are not any 5c cigars available today. When the cigar smoker walks into the tobacconist he cannot buy his old 5c El Ropo so he must buy a 10 or 15c Corona de Luxe. The price of the non-existent El Ropo is still 5c but nevertheless the cost of cigar smoking has increased 100 or 200%.

Peanut butter is a better example. This protein spread was a staple food before the war, particularly among the low income groups, although it was not included in the cost-of-living index. Peanut butter disappeared from the grocery stores of Canada and in its place was substituted a soya bean product. The housewife who had bought peanut butter for as low as 10c per pound now was forced to buy the substitute for 40c per pound. Although the price of peanut butter has been controlled, its disappearance caused the actual price of a necessary protein spread to increase 300%.

These are only two examples but they show how substitutions and "ersatz" goods can cause a marked increase in the *cost of living* without causing any increase in the *cost-of-living index*. The forced substitution of high-priced, fancy children's shoes for the usual low-priced, long wearing children's shoes is another example that will be understood by every Canadian mother.

### Subsidies

When the cost-of-living index threatened to rise to the point where another increase in the cost-of-living bonus would be mandatory, the government adopted the policy of subsidizing certain commodities. Milk and oranges are two examples. These commodities were all heavily "weighted" in the cost-of-living index. The government was well aware that the price movements of these commodities would have a powerful effect on the calculations of the cost-of-living index.

The result of these subsidies of heavily "weighted" commodities was to force down the *cost-of-living index* to a far greater extent than the actual *cost of living* was lowered. The subsidizing of selected commodities in the cost-of-living index had somewhat the same effect upon the cost of living as stopping the hands of a clock would have upon the passage of time.

### Fresh Fruits and Vegetables

Up until 1943 fresh fruits and vegetables were not included in the cost-of-living index. However, public criticism of the tremendous increase in their prices became so great that the Dominion Bureau of Statistics finally included them in its calculations.

By this time, however, the prices of fresh fruits and vegetables seemed to have reached their peak, in some cases several hundred percent above the 1939 prices. The belated inclusion of fresh fruits and vegetables did not correct the cost-of-living index because no adjustment was made for the tremendous increase in prices which had already taken place since 1939. Actually, the cost-of-living index was somewhat lowered because the prices of fresh fruits and vegetables fell slightly following their inclusion in the index, even though every housewife knows that their prices are still many times higher than they were in 1939. Such is the magic of the cost-of-living index!

### Collection of Prices

The prices used in calculating the cost-of-living index are collected periodically in various cities across Canada. Even though a few men were appointed in 1943 (after most of the damage had been done) to gather some of the price and quality changes personally, the accuracy of the reports continued to rest mainly with the honesty and intelligence of the business and professional men whose prices were used. It is difficult indeed to imagine a merchant who is selling above ceiling prices to report these prices on a form which must be mailed to Ottawa. Strangely enough, even authorized price increases and quality deteriorations are often not reported. Substitutions which require the consumer to purchase more expensive commodities are usually never reported voluntarily. The tendency is to get rid of the form as soon as possible by reporting "no change."

For example, the cost of rents is reported periodically by real estate agents who are well aware that rents are supposed to be controlled. When the real estate agent receives his periodical report, he simply writes "no change" over its face and mails it back to Ottawa. This peculiar system of arriving at the changes in the cost of rent has resulted in a fall in the rent index for Vancouver of .3% from August, 1939 to June 1, 1944. That anyone would be so naive as to believe that the cost of shelter in the war-boom city of Vancouver had actually fallen since the beginning of the war is simply incredible. Nevertheless, that is what Ottawa would have us believe.

### Statistics Don't Lie But . . .

When next you are walking along the street after just having paid 33c for 20 cigarettes (the 32% increase in the price of cigarettes since June, 1942, is not included in the cost-of-living index), and you see one of Ottawa's pretty charts pointing out to you the fine job your government has done in holding down the cost of living to a mere increase of 18%, just remember the old adage, "Statistics don't lie but statisticians do."

The cost-of-living index is a unique example of statistical subterfuge. It is an entirely unfair measure of the very real inflation suffered by the Canadian people and it brings nothing but discredit to the government which will not openly admit that this is so.

### When You Return

We shall lie down on eager grass, in the sun,  
you and I  
And all day eat of the pride of hawks,  
swift in the bright wind.  
And when night comes  
we shall pluck the great dipper out of the sky  
and drink our fill of stars.

Ann Bernard.

## Fighter's Return— To What?

Fergus Glenn

▶ I HAVE BEEN TRYING to determine why it is that most of the discussion and homily about rehabilitation of the returned soldier is so unsatisfactory and unrealistic.

It seems to me it is because the problem is almost invariably regarded as one of re-adjusting the fighting man to an environment which is blithely accepted by the analyst—with or without cynicism—as static. Almost every aspect of the soldier's anticipated reaction to the non-war surroundings is considered. The only question not considered is the really important one: What hope have we of fitting him into a civilian society and economy that are so glaringly unfitted to most of us at home?

Millions of words are being spouted on the veteran's post-war problems. Newspaper articles, radio talks, pamphlets and books on this topic are issuing every month. A good example is the book recently published by a Columbia professor, a veteran of World War I and "a professional student of war and its effects upon soldiers and society" for the past two decades.\* It is perhaps the most complete treatise on the subject yet written. Despite an annoying repetitiousness, the book seems exhaustive—and typical. It will repay study.

Here are accurately described the nature of war and its impact on the human body and personality; the states of mind commonly acquired by fighting men who have been long away from home and engaged more or less exclusively in killing other men and evading death themselves; their attitudes to the army and to "civvy street." It discusses the reversal of values the soldier must face on his return; his resentment towards the discipline of civilian occupations after so much discipline in the army; the re-assessment of skills learned in the killing-business, most of them useless in civil life, and the difficulties of acquiring new skills. There is much about his contempt for civilians, many of whom have been earning good pay in safety while he was risking his life at the front, especially his resentment against men of his own age who have not gone to war; his largely justified feeling that, having hazarded all for his country, the latter "owes him a living." It analyzes the mental resistance of a soldier to circumstances in which he must get an education in the company of youngsters more mature in some ways, less in others, than himself. The occupational, social and sexual problems of the disabled or mutilated soldier are described. And the tendency of the returned man to seek compensation in veterans' organizations which may become isolated and sinister forces in the life of the nation is noted, with pertinent illustrations from other post-war eras.

Now all this is relevant enough. These problems do exist. But a disposition is shown to over-color some of them, even to make the adjustment seem an almost impossible feat. For instance, a natural feminine sympathy, inclination to hero-worship and disregard for merely physical perfection may lead the right sort of woman (of whom there are plenty) to fall in love even more readily with a war veteran who has lost a leg, an arm or an eye than with a home-staying Apollo—quite apart from the fact that husbands are always harder to get after a war because of the surplus of women.

There is also a tendency to regard war disabilities, physical and mental, as peculiarly a soldier-problem. Many of them in fact differ little from the impairment problems that are quite widespread among civilians and are being successfully surmounted by thousands of individuals, single-handed or with institutional help. War simply increases their number.

Indeed, the general impression left by some of these discussions, and this book in particular, is that in the desire to be exhaustive and in the gusto of sociological research, a general type of problem has been treated as a special one. The problem's special aspect, in some cases, is one of extent rather than of kind.

This, however, is really part of the cardinal failure to see the problem as one relating to our society as a whole. In spite of stress laid on certain war changes in the home-staying folk, as individuals, the returned man is pictured coming back to things as they have always been, and we civilians are called upon to exercise a specially cultivated understanding of what the veteran needs, and to help him as an individual to adjust himself—to what? To the competitive, individualized economy and society in which we ourselves are struggling, clinging to the misguided belief that it is a moral duty to adapt ourselves to the particular niche "in which God has placed us"—and, of course, in the hope that some day, by grace of God and the employer, we may get into a higher niche. One has the uncomfortable feeling that such books should be called "Taming the Veteran."

Much is made of the veteran's feeling of revolt against society, a feeling which may lead to a dangerous and irrational radicalism, even to individual or organized acts of crime or political violence. But this is neatly traced to the "unsettling" effect of the soldier's job as a killer, his temporary estrangement from civilian society, and his notion that all civilians, especially "politicians," are his enemies. Because the army has always taken care of his minimum needs and has assumed responsibility for him as long as he did his special job faithfully and well, he feels that society should do so after the war, which is unreasonable of him. No attempt is made to trace these feelings and thoughts back to a more fundamental change of attitude in the soldier—a conviction, arising from a clearer view of the "home front" than he could have got even in a munition factory and an impatience with wordy idealism unsupported by deeds, which prevents him from regarding his "rehabilitation" as a purely personal and individual problem.

Yet this is the crux of the matter. What does the veteran expect of the society which sent him into the hell of high explosives and cold steel to fight for that society's survival? What does he hope to come back to?

Not, of course, to Utopia. He isn't as foolish or irrational as that. Nor is he, I suspect, as foolish as some of the eloquent "post-war" advertisements of automobile manufacturers, purporting to speak in his name, would like us to believe or persuade him to be. He doesn't want the "freedom" to compete with others for preferred position. He has been living in a co-operative community. He has been a member of a brotherhood in which the rule is each for all and all for each. He can depend on his buddies, and they can depend on him—or else. All his physical needs have been provided for with extreme solicitude. He has not needed to scrimp and save for the future. Even his dependents are provided for—after a fashion—by the state. He wants to come back to an environment in which he is at least as comfortably provided for as in the army, and on the same terms. When he is engaged with the enemy he is fighting, in the main, for his comrades, for the brotherhood of which he is a part, whose safety and welfare

\*"Veteran Comes Back," by Willard Waller; Jonathan David Co. (The Dryden Press, New York); pp. 316; \$3.50.

depend to some extent upon the loyalty and efficiency and energy with which he discharges his special duties. All other war aims aside, that is what he is fighting for. The ordinary soldier's thinking seldom goes beyond that (except, perhaps, in the Russian army). After all, it's something worth fighting for. If his country as a whole were like that, it too would be worth fighting for—and living for.

But now what is he asked to do? He is being invited to return to an environment in which he must compete as an individual with every other individual—for a living, for present and future security, for the very *chance* to live as he would like and attain his inmost desires. He is asked to subscribe to a law which reads "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost," to believe blindly in that law, and to train and adapt himself to survive under it. That is the kind of adjustment he is asked to make—as if it were perfectly reasonable. And the most complete and "generous" of pensions, war service gratuities, free land, low-interest loans, and provision for education and technical training cannot obscure the fact, or make up for it.

Of course, there will always be some in the armed services—even among the rank and file—who have changed so little, or become so cynical, that the problem will not present itself to them in that way. And there will, unfortunately, be a fair number who will be confused and puzzled, and who will merely retain that "gripe" against society which often leads veterans' societies to become closed corporations with narrow class-aims. But I suspect that very large numbers of veterans indeed are going to view their problem as I have indicated.

These men, who have changed in so many ways, do not expect to find everything altered for the better on the home front. But they have a right to expect that while they have been risking their lives and suffering disablement in defense of "our democratic way of life," those at home will also have attained something of the soldier's simple, straightforward outlook on post-war problems. They will expect to be welcomed back to a community that has at least acquired a sense of direction; that will possess some of the solidarity and brotherliness and spirit of co-operation, and the reliance on planned organization and communal responsibility, which the fighting man has got used to in the army, the navy and the air force. And they will expect to be given their due share in the re-shaping of our society to meet these conceptions.

There will be individual problems of adjustment. But adjustment to a society in which all are working together for the common good, instead of competing with one another for personal survival and advantage, will be very much easier than adjustment to a society which is at odds with itself because it lacks the kind of planned efficiency and solidarity to which everyone contributes and in which everyone shares. Indeed, it is this unplanned individualism that creates most of the problems.

The army discipline against which veterans "gripe" is the arbitrary kind that seems meaningless, and often is—not the self-discipline which survival in a war zone demands, and which the soldier inevitably acquires and practises. That is why he finds it difficult to submit to the petty rules of civilian occupations, which are mostly designed to keep him chained to a position of inferiority. Real co-operation in a society in which each individual's efforts are duly rewarded would demand the same kind of self-discipline as warfare imposes, and would be easily understood and willingly accepted by the ex-soldier. But a society in which economic regimentation is imposed by a discipline smacking of the pettier kind he has learned to hate in the army, coupled with a completely undisciplined scramble for place

and privilege, cannot help but arouse the ex-soldier's contempt and distaste.

Let us not, in our anxiety over the real or fancied problems of the returned man, overlook the main problem. It can be simply stated. A democracy that is worth fighting for should be worth living for; if it fails to head in the direction of real co-operation and real equity, based on sensible organization of its resources for the common good, few returned men will consider it worth fitting into, and can scarcely be blamed for becoming a mere "charge on the community."

## Film Review

### D. Mosdell

► THE OTHER DAY somebody remarked disparagingly that people only go to the movies when they are too jaded to read or think for themselves, and want to sit passively, like tired children, while someone tells them a story with pictures. It is true that a number of good comedies were produced during the past year which were specifically designed to take you out of yourself, without sending you anywhere in particular—cases of what you might call suspended animation.

The best of these, *Standing Room Only*, starring Paulette Goddard and Fred MacMurray, is still playing at local theatres; it is the final flowering of the try-to-get-accommodation-in-Washington cycle. The plot is complicated, but quite logical, and unfolds into a glittering pattern full of holes, like a sheet of tinfoil folded and cut with scissors along the creases. If you care, it concerns a business man and his secretary who in desperation take a job as butler and cook in a household where the husband (Roland Young) is himself in the reversed position of housekeeper to his intimidating WAC wife. The night I saw it, comic tension was so high that when MacMurray, in a butler's suit too small for him, finally succeeded in restoring a vagrant cherry from the tablecloth to the hostess' fruit cocktail, armed only with two butter-spreaders, the audience burst into spontaneous applause. A picture of this type must have pace and suspense without intensity; it may be brightly malicious but never indignant ("I don't mind being called a bird-brain," says an OPA official, "but don't you dare call me a bureaucrat"); a real note would be a false note. It is easy to be superior about this kind of entertainment, but actually it is possible to be genuinely delighted by its neatness, polish and irrelevant perfection.

Better comedies, as distinguished from merely good comedies, however, effectively demolish the "tired child" theory. Preston Sturges' latest effort, *Hail the Conquering Hero*, has speed and a smiling demoniac violence which leaves the audience battered in spirit and physically deafened. The crowd scenes are terrifying, because the balance between mob benevolence and mob anger is so clearly precarious. If, on the other hand, we turn to Sturges' hero, the individual member of the community, we find him the apotheosis of lonely humiliation. Nobody understands him; nobody wants to; he is made mayor of the town because the crowd is deceived into thinking he is a hero from Guadalcanal; and when he is driven to confess that he is a fake hero, discharged from the Marines because of hay-fever (genuine), they make him mayor anyhow, because he was brave enough to confess; and *still* nobody has understood him, except the audience. (Nobody, not even the audience, understands the crowd; but it is its own justification, and doesn't need understanding.) We recognize and

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share, in the person of the hero, the terror of the misunderstanding and the despair of the mind cut off from communication; but we laugh, because we see that his bravery is false too, being the result of a crisis. If he had been brave in the beginning, and conquered either his pride or his homesickness, there would have been no story.

As a matter of fact, any picture which attempts to deal with strong popular emotion will demonstrate clearly that far from being passive, the audience is *in* the movies in a sense that it is never *in* the theatre: when the ominous door creaks open on its hinges, it creaks for *you*. Fear, despair, even ideas, come at you with an impact more nearly like that of music plus a hypodermic needle, than of pictures. They may be good ideas, as in *Hail the Conquering Hero*; but often they are not. We are still likely to be overwhelmed. You may know, for example, when in some B picture the gangster's old mother sobs out her anguish in front of a comic Irish police magistrate, that the incident is false and the old hag theatrical; but the resources of the technicians are so great by now that you can never be sure that her veined wrinkled hands in a sudden merciless close-up will not clutch at your vitals and obscure your judgment.

Certainly it is annoying to the critical mind to be hijacked into responding emotionally to a set of phony values, but this momentary loss of detachment is not really serious. The story of the venerable clergyman who, emerging from *Tobacco Road* into the clear cold afternoon air, demanded of his wife "Where did I put them goddamned glasses?" is undoubtedly apochryphal; nobody forgets the rules of grammar as easily as that.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### The Editor:

Editors are busy and harassed people these days and consequently should not be too severely criticised for minor prejudices. However, I am sure that even an editor welcomes suggestions for the enlightenment of his persistent misapprehensions.

Now I realize that *The Canadian Forum* is not what is sometimes called a religious journal and that therefore the editor has the privilege of entertaining tenacious misconceptions about religion. In other fields of human knowledge, and education, the *Forum* makes valuable contributions. Recent articles dealing with air transport and with radio have been illuminating. For that reason it might be advisable for you to refrain from mentioning religion at all in your journal; you will thus help to avoid unfavorable prejudice against your editorials and articles dealing with subjects and affairs about which your knowledge is a little more fully developed.

Your editorial dealing with the proposed Canadian history text-book reveals the persistent, between-the-line sneer with which you refer to religion; it is no credit to an editor of your ability. That there is unworthy and obscurantist teaching and practice of religion is true; there are also unworthy and obscurantist editors. Let us keep our distinctions clear. Your inference in the editorial appears to be that 'George Drew's (?) new subject of religion' is only less 'guileless and colorless' than a national text-book would be, and as dead as Latin. Your opinion of the national text-book is probably true; your opinion about this new subject of religion is surely devoid of the 'imaginative interest' which, in relation to Canadian history, you covet for our young people. Out of some experience in teaching this 'new' subject in our public schools I can assure you that

our young people reveal a much more *imaginative* interest in religion than you do.

I hope you feel appropriately humbled.

W. B. METCALFE,  
Caledon East, Ont.

### The Editor:

In the election of three service members to the Alberta legislature one representative is to be elected from each service. There are three nominations for the Navy, seven for the Air Force and 22 for the Army.

If we could elect two out of the three we'd have enough members to make us the official opposition in the house. We therefore would like your help. For the Air Force we have as a candidate F/O Harold E. Bronson, who before his enlistment was one of our constituency presidents. He'd make a splendid member of the Legislature. If we can concentrate all the CCF votes on him we may be able to win. The method of voting is to write the name of one of the candidates on a ballot. For the Army, Lt.-Col. Eric W. Cormack although not running as a CCF candidate would be with us if he were elected. His wife is an active member and has always been a great supporter of the "ginger group" among the U.F.A. members.

We are writing to ask that you ask your readers to write to their relatives in the services asking them to use their influence on Alberta men to vote for our candidates.

Only airmen vote for the Air Force candidate. Only army men vote for the Army candidate. Following are voting qualifications: "The persons entitled to vote in this election are all the members of the military forces, male or female, over the age of nineteen years, including Auxiliary Services, who are British subjects and who resided in Alberta for one year out of the two years immediately prior to the date of their becoming members of the military forces, and who at the time of voting are serving outside of the Province of Alberta and have not previously voted in Alberta for any candidate for election to the Tenth Legislative Assembly."

Anything you can do to help us will be appreciated.

ELMER E. ROPER, M.L.A.,  
Alberta Provincial Leader,  
Edmonton, Alta.

### The Editor:

I have been intending to drop you a line, but it has been very difficult to find an idle moment since we arrived here. However, the *Forum* has been arriving regularly though six weeks late, and it is quite refreshing to get some news from home, even at that date. Anything else, that we read in *Time* or in *Newsweek* and especially the latter, is very goonster in complexion and so has to be read between the lines for many things. They left the story of the Alberta and Quebec elections out completely and then came in jubilantly with those in New Brunswick. Fortunately, *Time* is not quite as in favor of Mackenzie Goon, and hence we learned about them in due course.

I have been intending to tell you about our trip, but it was with rather mixed feelings. First of all I got the idea in Mexico that the revolution has run its course and is now in the hands of a bunch of politicians. It is a pity that Cárdenas ever had to leave, for the men who are in power now are like the latter-day New Dealers, and the result is much as if Truman became president in the States through Roosevelt's passing out of the picture. In fact, it is much as if Roosevelt stayed in the picture and merely continued his present opportunism. Except that in Mexico prices are rising and that has left a good deal of discontent. Then there is distrust of their labor leaders among the workers,

and that is an ugly situation that could lead into the same sort of thing as happened in Italy in the early 1920's.

As for Central America, I don't know. Guatemala has got rid of Ubico, but it is still a police state and we can only tell after this winter's elections there. I feel better about El Salvador, for the tyranny of Martínez was more open and brutal (he wiped out a good part of the centre of the capital with incendiary bombs before he left the scene) and hence even the women were proud of their part in the revolution that got rid of him, and they opened canteens in all the churches so no one would go hungry during the general strike that clinched matters. Then too, I like their leaders, and would suggest that you watch Dr. Arturo Romero, the socialist leader, who is young and sincere.

Bogotá is about as large as Vancouver, and has somewhat the same climate, strangely enough. It is not hot, and this end of it where we live is more like Westmount than any other city I have seen. Of course, the centre is old and colonial and even that is changing. The government is also Liberal as it is with us, but not quite so reactionary because President López studied at the London School of Economics, has a family and knows the world. The Conservatives, however, are even worse than ours and have a strong Falangist wing, I discover. There are no socialists that I can find, but the Communists have just changed their name to the Social Democrats.

TOM IRVING,  
Bogotá, Colombia,  
South America.

#### The Editor:

I have just finished reading the letter in your August issue by W. H. Temple, R.C.A.F. The same article has been read by many of my fellow "erks" and every one of them heartily concurs with everything mentioned.

Here we are in England—the Home of Democracy—and yet we see everywhere around us evidences of the most outrageous class distinction. It is in the services that it is felt the most. The simple everyday pleasures that the "other ranks" enjoy—pleasures of everyday life to ease the strain of the working day—are bound in this rigid class distinction. The officers to whom all this catering is done, are no better men than the average private or airman. He only has a different job.

Aside from the personal feelings involved in this case, it has been worrying many of us chaps. "What sort of people will these officers and N.C.O.'s make when they are demobilized and the authority of their rank is removed from them? Will they make good citizens—willing to co-operate with their fellows or will they be so set in their ways that they will try to carry their authority with them into civilian life?" We know there are many officers who realize the magnitude of this danger and also realize that a flat hat does not mean that he is a better man than the men under him. But there are also large numbers of officers and N.C.O.'s who rule their little domains like little dictators and exercise their petty authority outrageously. Will these men make good responsible citizens? There are grave reasons to doubt it.

I'm sure you will find among the majority of men in the services the opinion that the services certainly can do with an awful lot of remodelling; that the precious democratic principles for which so many men have paid so dearly must be molded into the framework. Democracy cannot thrive on undemocratic instruments of support.

It is to Canada that I turn to see this remodelling take

place. It would be in keeping with our great heritage, our Canadian way of life and spirit, if Canada were the leader in bringing democracy into her fighting services.

GEORGE C. WILKES, L.A.C.,  
R.C.A.F. Overseas.

#### The Editor:

Enclosed is renewal of subscription to *The Forum*. Have subscribed to it since it was established—and enjoy reading it. The book reviews are always excellent. Even if I cannot agree with many of the ideas expressed in leading articles and editorials they are stimulating and usually well written.

I am all for the ideal of a better world, but cannot see that this can be attained by any change in forms of government. I read an article in the *American Nation* recently by a communist zealot who deplored the fact that a new-moneyed government bureaucratic class was developing in Russia. He instanced the cases of heads of big Russian government-controlled concerns whose incomes were even in excess of those of the managers of similar concerns in the States. General Motors was one referred to.

The only real social revolution will come when the majority of mankind embraces the ideals given to the world in Palestine nineteen hundred years ago, not as dogmas or creeds but as a way of life to be expressed in daily living. With this in view I am in favor of religious education in the schools, imperfect though it may be, and open to objections as stated in your editorial in the last issue.

FRED H. BRIGDEN,  
Toronto, Ont.

### To One Departing

The full sails of your hurrying little boat  
Grey diminish and sink orange red into  
The setting sun: your delicate spars, dim blue,  
Cross below the copper west: the throat  
Of the pale surf bird issues mournful cries:  
Green water rustles loudly on rolling pebbles  
Rushing back to the sea's low purple levels:  
The new moon hides: wind bitterly sighs.

And I, after pleasures from your thin  
Dark grace—your charming smile, your strength, your  
quiet,  
Your swift thought meeting mine—am lonely. A din

Of waves washing back from your rapid flight  
Clatters against me, crashes coldly within  
The lessening past, as you recede, through night.

—Carol Ely Harper.

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## NEWS

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## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

**JAMES SHAVER WOODSWORTH: UNTYPICAL CANADIAN, An Estimate of His Life and Ideas:** Frank H. Underhill; Ontario Woodsworth Memorial Foundation; pp. 36; 25c.

Since Olive Ziegler published her biography, *Woodsworth: Social Pioneer*, in 1934, little has been written about the late J. S. Woodsworth, to whom, more than anyone else, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation owes its existence. The ten-year interval has seen the CCF grow from an obscure movement into a major political party, already in power in one province, the official opposition in others, and a serious contender for federal leadership. The ideas which moved J. S. Woodsworth were not, as many have supposed, the mushroom growth of the Great Depression, but sprang from roots much deeper and older. It is the merit of Professor Underhill's penetrating analysis and appraisal that it traces the development of those ideas and orients them to the world-wide forces out of which they grew. Using the well-known facts of the subject's career, and the documents and writings which marked the steps in the "pilgrim's" progress, he sketches the process by which, out of a typical U.E. Loyalist-Methodist environment and its influences of college and church, J. S. Woodsworth emerged as the leading nonconformist Canadian of his time. The ideas which he brought back from Oxford and the England of the Boer War, the birth of the Labor Party and the London social settlements seemed new and radical to Canadians because they had not realized that the pioneer era was ending and Canada was facing new problems of social adjustment. In the west, as minister and social worker, J. S. Woodsworth made it his business to study these problems at first-hand; and out of this grew his revolt against church dogma and later his entrance into the labor movement and into parliament. The creation of the CCF as a political movement based on a realistic approach to social and economic problems was in logical sequence. From this study Mr. Woodsworth emerges as essentially a student, a dealer in facts, a seeker after truth at levels which brought him in direct contact with the people. His moral courage, his sympathy with the under dog, his passion for clarity, and his intellectual pioneering, are stressed as the characteristics which made him such an "untypical" Canadian. He is presented here as one whose approach to the problems of our time, whose singleminded and selfless devotion to the interests of the common people, will remain an inspiration and guide to succeeding generations. C. M.

**EDWARD BELLAMY: Arthur E. Morgan; Columbia University Press; pp. 468; \$5.00 (U.S.A.).**

Of the series of American writers who, during the last century, tried their hand at utopian themes Edward Bellamy alone caught the public fancy. His *Looking Backwards*, a picture of life in the year 2000 A.D., set thousands of readers pondering for the first time on how society might be recast. Many were perhaps attracted by some inconsequential detail in his scheme rather than by the kind of regimentation — universal conscription for work under military discipline — that he advocated. I, for one, remember being enchanted by the prospect of unlimited supplies of beautiful paper clothes, to be discarded after a single wearing. The book undoubtedly owed much of its immediate popularity to the pains with which Bellamy dissociated his ideas from those of Europe-born socialism; he exalted nationalism and dismissed "reds" as mere trouble-makers subsidized by the opponents of true reform. Scores of "nationalist" clubs sprang up, sponsored by well-to-do theo-

sophists who liked the ethical tone of his writing; but when Bellamy sought to interest them in building a political movement they melted away. Was he, then, as William Morris and other critics have assumed, a mere shallow non-entity? Or was he a disquieting portent of latent middle-class leanings towards authoritarianism?

The full-length portrait that emerges from Arthur Morgan's careful study is of an oppressively serious and ambitious mind. A notebook filled at the age of thirteen contains an essay on usurpation that winds up with the stern conclusion, "Time cannot change evil to good, nor make a rightful inheritance out of a usurpation." Somehow Bellamy never outgrew the stiffness and naivete of his precocious boyhood. The influence of deeply religious parents, particularly of his mother, weighed heavily upon him, inducing an obstinate independence and a driving desire to leave his mark upon the world. All his life he was fascinated by army discipline, and he suffered a bitter sense of frustration in not having the physique requisite for entrance to West Point. After an incomplete college education, a winter in Germany, and two unhappy years in a law office, he turned to journalism and literature. He never became prosperous and never left the small-town environment in which he had grown up, but writing satisfied him by giving scope to his moralizing bent. His knowledge of economics seems to have rested on a reading of Mill's *Political Economy* at the age of seventeen, but the construction of *Looking Backwards* grew, as his biographer shows, out of a life-long, if somewhat desultory, struggle with arbitrary schemes for improving the world.

Very fully documented from personal papers, the book is a valuable contribution to the social and intellectual history of a perplexing period. Some readers will feel that efforts to be scrupulously fair on all possible points of disagreement have made it longer than necessary, and others may feel that the author has been too self-effacing, that he might have given more of his own views on such questions as Bellamy's ambiguous loyalty to the church, or the problem of incentives. He makes it clear, however, that he believes in a mixed economy, and on many of the issues raised his personal judgments have been set out elsewhere.

Sylvia L. Thrupp.

**ARGENTINE RIDDLE: Felix J. Weil; Longmans, Green & Co. (The John Day Co.); pp. 297; \$4.50.**

*Argentine Riddle* is an explanation of that country's defensive attitude vis-à-vis Britain and the United States by Dr. Felix José Weil, a director of the Latin American Economic Institute of New York City and staff member of that city's Institute of Social Research. Dr. Weil collaborated with Dr. Federico Pinedo in the formulation of his famous New Deal Plan, which both Houses of the Argentine Congress defeated in 1940.

The Pinedo plan was aimed both at the destruction of the landed gentry's and the foreign investors' control of Argentine economic life through income tax, the buying of foreign investments, subsidies for domestic industry and its exports, government housing and financing of the grain crop.

Britain normally buys from one-quarter to one-third of the Argentine wheat and meat production, while supplying her with one-fifth of her imports. Her capital investment in Argentina dates back to the time Argentina was fighting Spain to win an economically and politically independent life for herself. Buying at her own price, she virtually controls the packing and the transport of Argentina's grain and wheat from the ranches where they are produced to world markets, so that the Argentine ranch owners have become comparable to the "500 odd Indian princes, and the upper class Hindus and Moslems who, having accepted titles from

the King of England, serve as stooges for the English domination of the masses." . . . "Little wonder the Argentines thought England not worth the saving" during the crucial stages of the war.

The world has been swinging to the Left during the past generation, while the Right amassed its power against the gathering storms. Argentina is no exception. Successive Conservative Governments have used bribery and physical violence against the Left. The Argentine landed gentry see their doom in capitalism, and their two military coup d'etats, in 1930 and 1943, were intended to prevent industrialization of the country, relying as they do, upon exchanging their wheat and meat for industrial goods in the world markets, and fearful as they are of the political awareness of its workers and the union organization capitalism entails.

The war, however, cut off industrial imports through German attacks on Allied shipping, and even Argentina's military government found itself obliged to assist domestic industry by proposing a Customs Union, or economic bloc consisting of Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, Bolivia and Brazil. Together these countries comprise 68 million people and hold world monopolies of tannin, iodine, and natural nitrates, sufficient hydro power to electrify their industries, and considerable copper and tin. Chile, Paraguay and Bolivia recognized General Farrell as President of Argentina, despite United States economic sanctions against his government, and while Brazil has repeatedly expressed approval of the plan of these nations' economic union, Brazilian products complement rather than compete with Argentine products. Moreover, Britain, realizing perhaps "the inevitability of nationalistic trends cutting short British domination . . . welcome an Argentine-dominated bloc" to offset the United States in South America.

The present Argentine government has legalized Catholic instruction in all schools in the hope that the Church will wean the present generation away from the "liberalistic tenets of their parents" (as the Nazis so successfully did), and is anti-Jewish because the Jewish colonization schemes in Argentina's two most democratic provinces, Santa Fe and Entre Rios, are "too tempting to be overlooked" as bait for Argentina's "land-hungry peons." Argentines ponder, nevertheless, how quickly Dictator Trujillo was hailed as a friend of democracy once he had "joined up in the United Nations" camp, to say nothing of Vargas of Brazil, while they, too proud to align themselves with us, find themselves cut off from our needed supplies.

Dr. Weil's *Argentine Riddle* is a very thoughtful study of his country, well supplied with statistics. A review necessarily only suggests a few of the questions which this study raises, and it seems rather pointless to recommend it to Canadian students of their country's diplomacy when it has already been made required reading by the professor of Hispanic American History of George Washington University, and been so well received by the *Nation*.

Josephine Hambleton.

**SIXTY BELOW:** Tony Onraet; Nelson (Jonathan Cape); pp. 192; \$2.50.

Tony Onraet is one of that large group of young men who became box-car tourists during the depression, seeking adventure or the odd job wherever the moment's fancy suggested.

The discovery of radium-bearing ore at Great Bear Lake, in the Canadian Far North, offered a counter-attraction to the hobo life which Onraet, with his French-Canadian background, could not resist. So he said good-bye to his box-car companions and set off for the land of the midnight sun. He did not make his fortune at mining, but became a trapper instead, and apparently a very successful one. The war

came, offering even greater opportunities for adventure and soon Sergeant Anthony Onraet of the Canadian Army was renewing acquaintance in London with a Dr. Thomas Wood, whom he had first met at Great Bear Lake when the doctor accompanied the late Lord Tweedsmuir on his trip down the Mackenzie River in 1937. Wood encouraged his ex-trapper friend to write a book about his adventures in the Far North and this slim volume is the result.

In his introduction, Dr. Wood says, "I added a stop or two, gingerly, got some shape into that breathless torrent of words, and gave him my views on prose . . . But all I did in sum was little. This book is Tony's own." Undoubtedly it is Tony's book, but Dr. Wood is a trifle too modest about his own contribution. In many places the doctor's hand is evident in an idiom or turn of phrase which suggest a literary craftsmanship which Onraet could hardly be expected to possess.

Nevertheless, it is an interesting, and in some respects a valuable little book. It discloses the author as quite a remarkable young man. But the book's value chiefly consists in the attitude which the author has toward the northern country. While, like Peter Freuchen, he scarcely ever seems to go anywhere without encountering an adventure, life in the Far North is not to him one of great hardship, suited only to specially-bred he-men. Consequently, despite the book's title (probably chosen by the publisher), the cold of winter is stressed no more than the extreme heat of summer. To Tony Onraet it is a great country to live in.

He cannot, however, resist the temptation of letting his imagination out a notch or two on occasion, as when, drifting down the Peace on his way north, he slips out of his canoe onto the back of a swimming moose in midstream; or when, a few days later, he goes over Vermilion Chutes—and lives to write about it! Both stunts have been performed by others, but not likely by one and the same person. And his "empty lake" story is a gem. Travellers' tales will be searched in vain to find its equal.

For one who has travelled so much, Tony displays a wonderful ignorance of geography. He was at Prince Rupert, B.C., when he decided to go to Great Bear Lake, and he gives the distance as 4,000 miles. On page 128, he refers to the "country of the caribou" as stretching to the Pole; and on the same page he states that the caribou in their migrations "go south 2,500 miles," which would mean, of course, that they would end up somewhere in the United States!

Despite these defects, it is a worth-while book, interestingly written by one who knows and loves the life in that part of Canada which is yet so little known to most Canadians.

D. M. LeBourdais.

**HOUSES FOR TOMORROW:** T. R. Carskadon; Public Affairs (pamphlet no. 96); pp. 32; 15c.

This thought-provoking little booklet is recommended to those of us concerned about the future of housing in Canada. While Mr. Carskadon may not know all the answers he knows all the questions and all the problems confronting housing experts, and he does offer some very sound suggestions for solving the problems.

Whether the author has intended it or not, this book presents a very strong argument for prefabrication. In fact, when one realizes the staggering number of parts (30,000), the building operations and materials that go into a house that's built by hand, one wonders how we have managed to build as many houses as we have.

While prefabrication cuts down building costs from the point of view of labor and materials, this is offset by the high cost of selling and distribution. Buyers have to be educated and this will be one of the chief problems for the

prefabrication industry after the war—to work out some satisfactory method of selling and distributing.

The reasons for the present high building costs are very clearly explained, and there are many of them—dealers, manufacturers and trade unions all contributing. The fact that building is such a seasonal business and workers are not sure of a steady year-round wage, leads trade unions to try to protect their members by keeping wages high. The suggestion is made that if workers were guaranteed a yearly salary, the unions might be willing to co-operate by lowering their rates.

Much progress has been made since the war, due to new production methods and new materials—wallboards, plastics, asbestos cement and asphalt products, but the author does not expect anything revolutionary overnight. Reference is made to the comprehensive survey conducted by the Twentieth Century Building Fund. This is a non-profit, non-partisan research institute. They appointed a special staff to investigate the facts and the booklet sets out a list of some of their recommendations. With regard to public housing, the author explains the way in which the United States Housing Authority operates. He suggests that a more effective method of subsidizing rentals might be to set up a sliding scale, proportioning the amount of rent charge to the income, as some tenants now actually refuse higher-paying jobs for fear that they will lose their low-rental homes.

This is an American publication and we can see that even with its legislation and financial arrangements through such agencies as the United States Housing Authority, the United States still has its difficulties. But bearing in mind that we have no workable legislation in this country and, with the exception of Wartime Housing, have produced nothing at all, we might do well to copy United States methods in lieu of something better.

The booklet is illustrated with graphic diagrams and all comparative figures are simple and understandable.

Margaret Macleod.

**THE COTTON MILL WORKER:** Herbert J. Lahne; Oxford (Farrar & Rinehart); pp. 303; \$3.75.

Dr. Lahne's *The Cotton Mill Worker* is another in the series on American labor in the twentieth century. It does not depart from the high standards of objectivity and scholarship set by other volumes in the series, but it does suffer on the score of readability. Academic rather than popular, Dr. Lahne's presentation is not likely to interest the general reader, but anyone interested in cotton textile or textile organizations will find a wealth of information ably presented and amply annotated.

Cotton textile is a family industry to the extent that wage rates have been predicated upon the assumption that more than one member of a family would work in the mill. Indeed, it would have been impossible for the great bulk of the families in that industry to have kept up an average household upon the wages of any one of their members.

Of interest to Canadians is the fact that from the 1870's until the turn of the century French Canadian families moved to New England cotton mill towns in such large numbers that they became the largest racial group in the industry. They were later supplanted by cheaper labor from overseas. Today the South is the largest producer of cotton textiles, and Dr. Lahne's analysis of the factors that wrested dominance from New England is perhaps the most scholarly part of his work.

Chapters on the New England Mill Village and the Southwestern Mill Village are interesting as studies in the extreme

paternalism which has characterized the industry since its inception. Family industry, low wages and paternalism are bound inseparably to this exploited industry. At the opening of the century the textile business was the largest source of factory employment for women in America.

In his last half-dozen chapters the author records the history of unionization in textile. Communists, the I.W.W., and other groups, tried to organize upon industrial lines and obtained isolated victories from time to time, while craft groups, like the mule spinners, kept organizations together for a number of years, but never made any important strides. Prior to the C.I.O., the only significant union was The United Textile Workers, which achieved large paper memberships upon several occasions but was never in a position, financially or organizationally, to hold them. What textile needed was a union with money and fully competent organizers. With the organization of the C.I.O. such a union was launched—the T.W.O.C. In 1939 the C.I.O.'s Textile Workers' Organization Committee and the United Textile Workers merged to form the Textile Workers' Union of America. Within two years the newly formed union had 858 collective bargaining contracts signed covering 235,000 workers in all branches of textile.

The complete unionization of the American textile industry, which is on the way, will likely have its repercussions in Canada.

J. Lloyd Harrington.

**STORIES OF WRITERS AND ARTISTS:** Henry James; New Directions; pp. 346; \$3.50 (U.S.A.).

The stories here collected are those one would hope to see and a re-reading of them makes one realize afresh how superb a teller of tales James is and how genuine a wit. *Greville Fane*, *The Real Thing*, *The Middle Years* are among the eleven stories, and magnificent above all, *The Death of a Lion*, *The Next Time*, and *The Figure in the Carpet*.

Broadly speaking, the stories from one angle or another present James' view of the artist's struggle for sincerity, and they have been selected to give "if in the guise of fable his portrait of a writer." Yet instead of a positive creed the collection presents a curious reversal. The portrait emerges from story to story only to disappear like the Cheshire cat, leaving behind a genteel substitute for the grin. Its counsel is ironically negative. The more surely you withdraw from your audience, till you achieve say the isolation of Goose Green with Roy Limbert in *The Next Time*, the more likely you are to write masterpieces and the less likely you are to be read. *The Lesson of the Master* is to avoid marriage which defeated him as an artist as art ruined the marriage of *The Author of Beltraffio*. If you are popular you are probably as bad as Greville Fane, and if you do manage to be good and suddenly eminent your admirers will probably kill you with ignorance and brutality as they killed Neil Paraday, without even reading his books. Avoid anything like a direct treatment of reality or you will fail like the painter who tried to paint the Monarchs. Break off all ties, cut away all roots, and you may discover the figure in the carpet like George Corvick.

Mr. Mathiessen says in his introduction (it makes one look forward to his forthcoming edition of James's notebooks) that James, "unlike the aesthetes of the nineties, always insisted on the supreme importance of the subject." But his subject here is not essentially different from theirs—the importance of art, uncompromisingly in conflict with that series of compromises, life. Consciously or not, he has been much influenced by Pater. As one reads the stories in their chronological order one notices James's increasing preoccupation with form, the minuter finickiness of his sentences, the growing awareness of a widening gulf between artist and

audience. The almost pathetic exclusiveness and remoteness is enhanced in James's case, not only by what Virginia Woolf calls his "enormous, sustained, increasing and overwhelming love of life," but in particular by his American nostalgia for England, for roots in a past as well as in a present that he does not fully share.

These variations on a theme very personal to James certainly clarify the reasons for the increasing, at times painful, precision of style, the ever more exacting attempts to say what he wishes to learn by saying it. His struggle as an artist has the authority of integrity and a kind of wisdom that derives from the acceptance of personal failure. The present vogue for him on this continent after decades of neglect is more than the passing whim for Victorian furniture. Does it indicate perhaps a weariness of the flesh, and a suppressed yearning for the more intensely personal, for a suaver austerity, for the urbane? K. C.

FIVE YOUNG AMERICAN POETS, THIRD SERIES,  
1944: Jonathan David (New Directions); pp. 215;  
\$3.00.

*Five Young American Poets* is a declaration of faith as well as an anthology of poetry. In introductory essays each poet gives his or her idea of what poetry is, and how it should be written. To Eve Merriam, poetry is abundance of fantasy expressed in an economy of words; she is unashamed of its childlike mystery and its soldierly directness. John Frederick Nims believes in a poetry that should honestly describe both the mystery and the majesty of reality, and be "god's word for terror, or loneliness or exaltation." It should be so inevitable as to create its own exactly necessary form, organic and structural. For Jean Garrigue, poetry is the intensely individual realization of universal experience; not a search for the Ideal in itself, but an appreciation of the poet's own part of the Ideal, of what is true for the poet at the moment of understanding. He also confesses "an infatuation for the medium" in preparation for the mastery of the poetic moment, and its perpetuation in a form that will make it timeless. Tennessee Williams, a blood and bone poet, stresses intensity of feeling and appropriateness of structure, and values "organic purity and sheer breath-taking power." While the last of the five poets, Alejandro Carrion, writing from Ecuador, writes as if poetry and the arts were "actual compelling forces in the daily life of the common man." His verse is lyrical and direct, and shows the indivisibility of spirit and word.

Different as these writers are, each of them has in common an intensely personal appreciation of reality and a desire to communicate it through appropriately organic forms. One senses in them the "participation mystique" with which Levy-Bruhl described the projection of imagination into the world, and its participation in the new, mystical world, which is both the world and the poet in one. That accounts for the intensity of feeling and precision of form, which derive from communion with and yet transformation of reality, and respond to the highly imaginative grasp of very concrete, personalized experiences.

The two poets who have come closest to their ideals are Nims and Garrigue. In the line, "Tensity made perpetual is peace," Nims admirably expresses his aims, methods and achievements. We might amplify it as "Individual tensity made universally perpetual," for his is essentially an individual view that becomes a universal scene. His verse is personal, full of his own allusions to things read, seen and felt; it is particular and precise, with brilliant images; and yet it is comprehensive, and makes a fascinating unity of ideas, peoples, places and words — as far apart as Plato

and Hedy Lamarr, or Babylon and Coney Island. Take a verse from his "Penny Arcade":

Some for a penny in the slot of love  
Fondle the bosom of aluminum whores,  
Through hollow eye of lenses dryly suck  
Beatitude of blondes and fallen drawers.  
For this Cithaeron wailed, and Tempe sighed,  
David was doomed, and great Actaeon died.

Nims has the art of being thoroughly contemporaneous and yet timeless. Every present experience is a flashback to the past; and past happenings are made to happen again in the present, as for example in his "Apocalypse":

As if, among the quiet sad of Calvary,  
A third should yawn, and pick his teeth, and say:  
Well, let's get going. I looked in the last chapter.  
So take it easy, folks. He'll rise O.K.

Nims has displayed the unique gift of being all men in himself in such a way that all may recognize the poet in their own diverse experiences.

Jean Garrigue, no less visionary though less rhetorical, depends primarily on simplicity and lucidity of style in which to express the same intensity and yet universality of experience. The metre is intrinsic to the thought, and shows that subtle variation about a norm, which gives a sense both of freedom and of discipline. He depends more on sheer individuality of experience, and its lyric beauty, in order to create the effect of a great wealth of associations, constantly awaking in the reader the *déjà-vu* which makes every scene of his common to us all. Consequently the poet is a kin to everyman, as you will find in his poem

There are all these persons who have died:  
All the neighbors and grandmothers and young;  
There are all these missing, these lost ones,  
Gaps in the ranks of our love:  
When we have ventured into a crowd and are secure  
They betray our happiness suddenly found,  
They make a cry with their bones in the wind  
Or cough quietly in the blood.

Garrigue can write this sort of thing so ably because he has the mystical appreciation of life which believes

More beautiful, my soul, than all  
The visibles of sense; nor sense can tell  
What ecstasy occasions this excess.  
But from the soul excels  
Such bounty of invisibles  
As swans will breast cold infancies of time.

In contrast to this, Tennessee Williams gains his effects by a certain anonymity and dramatic objectivity, as though his experiences were a part of the general spectacle at which he was looking, and which he found full of fatal attraction. He speaks in the third person rather than the first; uses images rather than descriptions. As a result he stimulates the imagination of the reader to the highest degree, compelling him to make his own creative effort in appreciation of the verse. Take his "One Hand in Space":

I ferret among the used  
and exhausted lot  
for the longing not wanted because  
it was haunted and hot,  
I want no purpose to own me  
but only to say  
I found those secretly burning

along the way,  
This girl who was lost but knew  
more places than one,  
this boy who was blind but grew  
the interior sun.

Very different is Eve Merriam; intensely individual, particular, expressive and explosive: anxious to discuss the meaning of things, to question, or proclaim. Her verse is a personal, penetrative probe of the problem of modern life — its spiritual insecurity under a facade of material welfare. It is voiced in direct, contemporaneous speech; is vivid with unforgettably personal images; and yet paradoxically detached, inevitable and universal. One thinks of her "Above all Great and Public Grief" or "The Coward of Jeremiah," where she writes

Doomsday, they told him, always happens there.  
Never here.  
Wartime mother holding  
the cold black-bordered card:  
we never met her boy.

Something of both the dramatic and personal element is found in Carrion's verse, where the poet has at the same time projected himself into the world, and seen the world to be intimately human:

It may be that the beauty of landscapes  
Exists only in our eyes . . .

as if the greatness or the grossness of life, were, in the last resort personal. Yet he has accepted the world for itself, and describes it with calm objectivity, as though its grief or joy were something beyond ourselves.

Beside what was once a house  
a deaf child, entranced, will watch  
a rose of blood blossoming upon a breast  
from the narrow cranny of a wound.

Often the two views are combined in the same poem, for instance "Blockading Red Hope," where the poet is both tender and terrible in his passionate yet impassionate appraisal of civil war:

Pausing  
upon a rude cradle, the eyes of a man  
are the living image of pure tenderness.  
In the street  
a forest of shouts grows above the silence  
and a cloud of fists comes between the sun and the earth.

New Directions is to be commended for having brought together five such promising writers, and for having given them the opportunity to show again the feeling for form and formative feelings of modern verse.

James Wreford.

THE SOLDIER, A POEM: Conrad Aiken; New Directions; pp. 32; \$1.00 (U.S.A.).

*The Soldier* is gentle, unemphatic, bloodless in spite of its theme of blood. The poet, and through him his kind, are all separate and all the same, suspended in a twilight that is neither yesterday, today, nor forever, pondering "the ghost of a ghost of a ghost, Gustavus Adolphus." Together they watch, with quiet absorption, the drifting snow of events, persons, customs, where out of the vast blur details emerge, and turn slowly, and are again diffused: the robin "with his two or three poinsettia words," the "spray of song starlike in the leafless beach-plum," "the huge blue Ethiops whirling in lionskins," "stone steps that green to water."

Conrad Aiken's panorama of human history is curiously insubstantial, the single constant dimension being time. Even then it is not the philosopher's time, nor the physicist's. His dream-constants are very different from the intellect's abstracts, and neither can perform the other's functions. His precision is that of a poet: ". . . war began far off, far back, in the sands and darks of time; yet bright and clear as yesterday . . ." When he states his theme it is a toneless banality: "The history of war is the history of mankind." He may be disgusted as a poet with today's slick-paper rhapsodies on "the Parliament of Man the Federation of the world." What he invokes instead, however, is not an alternative historical thesis, but only the drab atmosphere of early-morning pavements in a great city.

If a few lines are isolated, the verse has a definite pulse:

"to fall underfoot of an oncoming seawall foamsmothered  
sea-trampled lost and the roar and the foamslide regathered  
once more to recede wind-thwarted again thus deathward  
the battelins whelmed and divided the darkling battalions  
Locked arms in chaos the bravest the heroes  
Kept in the forefront and this line once broken  
Our army was done for."

But as one reads, the pulse fades to a long murmur. In its flux there is no good, there is no evil, there is only a large acceptance. And Aiken gives us ". . . love, devotion, sacrifice, death . . . the soldier is crystal, was always crystal." The soldier not only endures, he kills. To overlook that fact is a perilous piece of self-delusion or cowardice.

Although here and there the poem recalls Latin verse, and here and there the wintry Anglo-Saxon, rhythmically the compelling echo is Browning's *Saul*. The contrasts between *The Soldier* and *Saul* are startling, and funny, and deeply disquieting.

Margaret Avison.

THE TRANSPLANTED: Frederick Niven; Collins; pp. 310; \$2.75.

The writing of the late Frederick Niven gives the impression of a strong, silent business man determined on becoming articulate. This does not make for fluency, and the character delineation is extremely thin. His last book, *The Transplanted*, is the tale of a young Scot, trammelled by home influences, who came to the Canadian West and made decidedly good by way of mine development, ranching and railroad extension. He has great admiration for what history calls the Builders of Canada—Mackenzie, Thompson, Fraser and Palliser—and at the close of the tale one of his admirers suggests that he will, in the future, be placed at their side. There may have been justice in this since, according to the book, most of the hard work entailed was done by others; Wallace's chief toil consisting of exercising a shrewd mind, taking numerous trips back east, and marrying the daughter of the head of his mining firm.

An interesting corroboration of Wilde's dictum that "Each man kills the thing he loves" is that all of Wallace's developments, which he calls Progress, tend to destroy the beauty of the country which he has come to care for. The author gives no indication that he is conscious of the irony of this. His sense of the healing and grandeur of the mountains, of the scent of the pine forests, the music of the swift streams, which are his best writing and permeate the book, do not deter him for one moment from desecrating them with railroads, tar roads, gas stations and transient, imported labor. When he has really developed the country,

the shop-keeper can no longer leave his store untended or the trapper his cache in an unlocked cabin.

There is a villain, a slight plot, and some moments of drama toward the close. The admirable wife and the less admirable friend's wife never come into focus, but there is a restrained and well developed picture of the friendship between two men—both transplanted from Scotland.

Eleanor McNaught.

**THE ORACLE OF BROADWAY:** Helen M. Morosco and Leonard Paul Dugger; Caxton; pp. 391; \$4.50 (U.S.A.).

**A LOGGER'S ODYSSEY:** Sverre Nord; Caxton; pp. 255; \$3.00 (U.S.A.).

**AS A CAVALRYMAN REMEMBERS:** George Brydges Rodney; Caxton; pp. 297; \$4.00 (U.S.A.).

**I LOVE BOOKS:** John D. Snider; Review and Herald; pp. 574; \$2.50 (U.S.A.).

The first three of these books are chiefly biographical. Oliver Morosco, stage producer and theatre-owner, introduced to the public many of the present well-known movie celebrities, such as Edmund Lowe, Charlotte Greenwood, Leo Carillo, Eddie Cantor, Lewis Stone and Warner Baxter. *The Oracle of Broadway* describes his rise from boy acrobat to theatre manager at the age of fifteen, his tense, industrious career of showmanship throughout some four decades, highlighted by successes like *Madam Sherry*, *Peg O' My Heart*, *So Long*, *Letty* and *Abie's Irish Rose*. The account of his early years in San Francisco and Los Angeles is full of dash and color and, while we are told of business reverses and an unhappy home life, the general tone of the writing is lightly humorous. The man himself appears as a very dynamic personality, highly emotional, idealistic, aggressive, capable of quick decisions and keen enthusiasm for a good play. Any lover of the theatre will find this good reading. One of the authors is Mr. Morosco's third wife and the book may be somewhat balanced in his favor. It is, however, valuable as a record of practical experience and accomplishments in the field of American entertainment.

Mr. Nord is a Norwegian who came to America in 1906 and spent the major portion of his life in the logging industry on the Pacific coast. His book is a collection of letters written to a friend in 1931-32 when on a motor trip which fairly well covered the inhabited portion of the North American continent. The letters, which were not intended for publication, are filled with descriptions and historical notes and passages of reminiscence from a very roving and adventurous past. The author shows himself as physically tough, quick with his fists, credulous, extravert and sentimental but with a good deal of intellectual vitality. He writes in a terse, straightforward style and with a background atmosphere of the Norse saga in which nature is always monstrous and mysterious. He tells—quite seriously—stories of sea-serpents, phantom ships and a headless giant "as tall as the trees." He also makes realistic comments on the places he visits. In Cuba "The orphanage nurseries have secret holes in their walls where unwanted babies are delivered . . . and these children are brought up as the product of the soil without encumbrances or kin. How sensible!"

*As a Cavalryman Remembers* is by a retired cavalry colonel of the United States army who served in the Philippines and the western United States during the early years of this century. As history it is superficial rather than serious and seems mainly to describe army life as a succession of practical jokes. Stories are told, some of which, while evidently intended to be screamingly funny,

are rather inane. The author has led a rugged and active life but most of the incidents he relates, though accompanied by much whiskey drinking and soldierly profanity, seem quaintly uneventful in comparison with the warlike activity of recent years. The book's greatest appeal will probably be for American military readers of the author's generation.

The theme of *I Love Books* is that books are treasure chests and are therefore good things to have around. This Mr. Snider states repetitiously and with an overburden of quotations from famous writers. Some lists of titles are given of suggested reading on various subjects. The book is mainly intended for young readers and has some merit as a guide to general literature. But the division drawn between morally good and morally bad books is rather arbitrary and the heaping up of argument in favor of good reading becomes tediously pontifical.

Alan Creighton.

**THE HIGHER HILL:** Grace Campbell; Collins; pp. 320; \$2.75.

A warm, nostalgic thrill comes to the feminine reader of Grace Campbell's new book *The Higher Hill*. At first its source is puzzling. Then memory floods in. The long ago days when we were fifteen and brought home from the Sunday school library the books of Annie S. Swan, Amelia E. Barr and sometimes, daringly, Augusta J. Evans-Wilson. There is the same delightful air of almost reality, strewn with apple blossoms, buttered scones for tea, tall, handsome lads, a near villain, and a piquant hint of unknown sin somewhere in the world.

History of early Canadian struggles is woven in with the gentle, far-off melancholy of the tales we have all been told by our grandparents, but never attaining sufficient reality to disturb our emotions. This is interspersed with quaint housekeeping methods and recipes which are still to be found in crumbling scrap books lovingly preserved among grandma's relics. It is well that these things should be given permanent form, and the entire content makes an excellent book for the girl just a little too old for "Milly in the Fifth" and not yet reading the daily newspapers or Evelyn Waugh.

Eleanor McNaught.

**THE WAY:** J. M. Hartley; Oxford (Thomas Y. Crowell Company); pp. 187; \$3.00.

Rome, Damascus, Jerusalem! This attractively written novel portrays the life nineteen centuries ago in these three great capitals. Centurion Severus leads his Roman cohort through a travelogue of episode in which there criss-cross with his the lives of Leah (his Jewish concubine); Balthasar, Caspar and Melchior, Magi of a secret Brotherhood and in search of a King; Yesú, son of Yusuf the carpenter, who (here yet a youth) is ultimately discovered to be the intuited King who "will be the glory of our Order."

Color and movement, passion and prejudice, are well handled in this generally-speaking well-told novel. The Mithraic ceremony of the *taurobolium* is as vividly depicted as are the Jewish Passover rites at Jerusalem; and an Arab-Roman clash is as exciting in Mr. Hartley's capable hands as is an imperial banquet at Capri.

I have not managed to find out anything about the author. If this is his first attempt at fiction it is indeed competent. Apart from a few misprints and the curious sentence "Caspar poured water into a ewer and washed his hand" (surely from a ewer is indicated?), the book is a worthy contribution to the growing literature on first century life and manners.

John F. Davidson.

**THE FAR EAST:** The Royal Institute of International Affairs (Information Notes No. 5); pp. 42; 6d.

**SOUTH EAST ASIA AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC ISLANDS:** The Royal Institute of International Affairs (Information Notes No. 6; pp. 32; 6d.

The fifth in the series of Information Notes produced by the Royal Institute of International Affairs is a comprehensive survey of China, Japan and the Soviet Far East condensed into 42 pages of easy reading. The pamphlet sketches the history, culture and customs of the peoples of these countries, describes the geography, natural resources, and systems of government, and discusses the present-day conditions and politics of each. The paralleled system of studying the three countries does much to clarify the situation in the Far East.

The sixth in the same series is, as its introductory paragraph points out, "a thumbnail sketch of Indo-China, Siam, Burma, Malaya, Hongkong, Borneo, the Netherlands East Indies, the Philippines and the Islands of the South Pacific, in order to provide a background both to the present war in the Far East and to future social, economic and political developments." The whole area is described from an economic, political and racial point of view, and although there is little reference to present hostilities the reader cannot fail to have a better grasp of the strategic situation.

Both pamphlets have lists of additional reading material on the subject, and excellent sketch maps. To the armchair strategist, or in fact to anyone interested in following and understanding the course of the war in the Far East, these pamphlets can be highly recommended.

*Catherine Baker-Carr.*

**THE PRIVATE LIFE OF THE MASTER RACE:** Bertolt Brecht; New Directions; pp. 140; \$2.50 (U.S.A.).

Reading *The Private Life of the Master Race* is rather like seeing a very good newsreel of events from the rise of Hitler through Munich to the siege of Moscow. It is a vivid description of the corruption wrought by the Nazi spirit and as such is a poignant object lesson, but today's reader, hardened by the horror and speed of events, will, I think, have the feeling of having heard it before. As a lesson, too, it lacks one element. It makes one fully aware of the pervading horror of Nazism but it fails to show its attractions, which enable it to demand and obtain for its altars these living sacrifices of the human spirit.

The resemblance to a film is not haphazard. Brecht has deliberately used the documentary film technique as one of his efforts to find a satisfactory new drama form. As an experiment it is highly successful in this case; as a definitive new play form it is less striking. Our whole feelings to Nazism are so surcharged that any play on the subject carries, and legitimately carries, great emotional overtones. It is these very emotions that Brecht apparently feels the drama should escape, yet the success of an experiment which more fully realized his own theories is doubtful. It seems to me that on the evidence of the Master Race Brecht is a better dramatist than a dramatic theorist, as after all, the great playwrights of the world have been. Eric Bentley, who does an excellent job of translating, also contributes an interesting, though irritating, essay on Brecht's work.

*H. J.*

**INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS:** Brig.-Gen. Sir Osborne Mance; Oxford University Press; xii, 90 pp.; \$1.25.

Telecommunications have always played a more important role in international relations than generally realized by the public. This was true even when the field was restricted to cables. Western imperialism in the Orient contains no more sorry chapter than the struggle to control Chinese communications—a struggle in which British, American and German intrigue were being forced to make way for a fourth major competitor, Japan, when the Chinese Government ousted them all and took over telecommunications services. "In the hard diplomatic struggle throughout this period," comments Sir Osborne, "there seems to have been little concern for what has been best for China."

This battle for domination of the world's cables was complicated by the arrival of radiotelegraphy, which bids fair to put cables out of business. The problems are now infinitely more complex, as evidenced by the most outstanding example, i.e., the use of radio as an aggressive propaganda weapon.

The author is here concerned chiefly with the technical and operating conditions affecting international co-operation. This study is therefore a highly specialized one. But it is made abundantly clear that co-operation in this sphere must be worked out within the general framework of any world security organization. The formation of an international cable or communications corporation as part of the machinery for the control of telecommunications, and the provision of subsidies from international funds for the maintenance or improvement of internationalized communications, are suggested.

Prepared under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, this booklet fills a gap in the literature of international co-operation.

*S. G. Cameron.*

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